# Balkan Studies

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# Balkan Studies

Volume 28, 1987 Number 1

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*DAPHNE PAPADATOU*

# POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD: THE ZEALOTS AND SAILORS OF THESSALONICA*

The direct and organised manifestation of the people's political expression—which in modern democracies is ensured through the institution of political parties—was incompatible, in theory at least, with the monarchic régime of the Byzantine Empire, in which all authority was vested in the Emperor[1]. All the same, the existence of the demes[2], which were, amongst other things, political bodies with various functions[3], demonstrates that in

* The views expressed in this paper are the first conclusions reached on questions arising in the writer's research into the local self-administration and the manifestations of self-determination by the people in the centrally structured Byzantine state. A self-contained section of this on-going research, this paper represents an initial attempt at a comprehensive approach to the phenomena and institutions that governed the Byzantine state and the Empire's public life in general.

1. Concerning the political theory of the Byzantine state, see J. B. Bury, 'The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire', in *Selected Essays*, edited by H. Temperly (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 99-125; W. Ensslin, 'The Emperor and the Imperial Administration', in *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilisation*, edited by N. H. Baynes and S. L. B. Moss (Oxford, 1948), pp. 268-307; I. Karayannopoulos, *Ἡ πολιτικὴ θεωρία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν* (Thessaloniki, 1988). Concerning the origins of this political theory and practice in the Roman period, see T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. II, part. 2, third edition (Graz, 1969), pp. 948-88, 881-913; J. Gaudemet, 'Le Régime impérial', in his collection of studies, *Les Gouvernants à Rome: Essais de droit public romain* (Naples, 1985), pp. 109-10.

2. For extensive discussion of the demes, see A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976); F. Winkelmann, 'Zur politischen Rolle der Bevölkerung Konstantinopels von der nach justinianischen Zeit bis zum Beginn des Bilderstreits', in *Studien zum 7 Jahrhundert in Byzanz: Probleme der Herausbildung des Feudalismus*, edited by H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (Berlin, 1976), pp. 101-119. Fundamental is still the study of G. Manojlović, 'Le Peuple de Constantinople', *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), 617-716 (translated by H. Grégoire).

3. The political activity of the demes has been stressed mainly by F. Dvornik, 'The Circus Parties in Byzantium', *Βυζαντινὰ-Μεταβυζαντινά*, I/1 (1946), 119-133, (pp. 122-5); Manojlović, 'Le Peuple de Constantinople', (pp. 634ff., 673ff., 687ff.); Winkelmann, 'Zur politischen Rolle', 106-8. Cameron, however, in *Circus Factions*, questions the importance of the demes' political role (pp. 44, 309-11). Concerning the demes' military activity, see

practice the people enjoyed a certain amount of political freedom designed to exert a modicum of control over the sovereign's authority.

The demes played a political role until the end of the seventh century[4], when they were assimilated by the machinery of state[5] and incorporated into the court protocol[6]. The people were thus deprived of their means of political expression.

As a result of the revolution led by the Zealots in Thessalonica in the fourteenth century, a new form of government was established in the city in the period 1342-9. In both seizing and remaining in power, this régime rested on popular foundations, namely the intervention and the co-ordinated activity of two organised groups—the Zealots and the sailors.

• Research into the Zealot uprising[7] has paid little attention to the question

R. Guilland, 'Les Factions à Byzance', *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 23 (1953), 6-11. For their administrative duties, see ibid., p. 8.

4. A. Maricq, 'La Durée des parties populaires', Académie royale de Belgique, *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 35 (1949), 64-74.

5. Bréhier, *Les Institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris ²1970, p. 164.

6. N. Oikonomidès (editor), Κλητορολόγιο Φιλοθέου: *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 107 cols 20-2, 123 col. 28, 125 col. 7, 177 col. 27, 181 col. 15, 197 col. 11; A. Vogt (editor), *Le Livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1967), vol. I, pp. 47, 50-53, 54ff.; vol. II, pp. 13-4, 24-5, 29-32, 36, 57-60, 75-78, 166-168. Up until the fourteenth century 'demarchs' are mentioned as occupying a very low rank in the court hierarchy: see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Περὶ τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων*, published by J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1976), p. 196, col. 33.

7. The Zealot revolution has been the object of research of the following (mainly western) scholars: O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1913), pp. 205-72; I. Ševčenko, 'The Zealot Revolution and the Supposed Genoese Colony in Thessalonica', *Ἑλληνικὰ* (Supplement 4: Dedicated to S. Kyriakidis) (Thessaloniki, 1953), including bibliography up until 1953; P. Charanis, 'Internal Strife in Byzantium during the 14th Century', *Byzantion*, XV (1940-41), 211-16, 225-7; V. Hrochovà, 'La Révolte des Zélotes à Salonique et les communes italiennes', *Byzantinoslavica*, XXII/1 (1961), 1-15; eadem, 'Die Problematik der Zelotenbewegung in Thessalonike 1342-1349', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität*, Ges. u. Sprachwiss. Reihe 10 (Halle and Wittenberg, 1961), pp. 1447-50; C. Kyrris, 'Gouvernés et gouvernants à Byzance pendant la révolution des Zélotes (1341-1350)', *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. XXIII (Brussels, 1968), pp. 271-330; K. P. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1971), pp. 175-96; N. Pandazopoulos, *Ρωμαϊκὸν δίκαιον ἐν διαλεκτικῇ συναρτήσει πρὸς τὸ ἑλληνικόν* (Thessaloniki, 1979), vol. III, pp. 107-14; I. Ševčenko, 'Nicholas Cabasilas' "Anti-Zealot" Discourse: A Reinterpretation', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter DOP), 11 (1957), 81-171; idem, 'The Author's Draft on Nicholas Cabasilas' "Anti-Zealot" Discourse in Parisinus Gr. 1276', *DOP*, 14 (1960), 181-201; idem, 'A Postscript on Nicholas Cabasilas' "Anti-Zealot" Discourse', *DOP*, 16 (1963), 403-8; M. Sjujumov, 'K voprosu o karaktere vystuplenija Zilotov v 1342-1349 gg.', *VV*, 28 (1968), 15-37; G. Theocharidis, *Τοπογραφία καὶ*

of the origin, composition, and general character of these unions[8]. An investigation of this sort may be seen to be of importance once its object is considered to reflect the Byzantine people's possibilities of political expression. In the fourteenth century and in the context of the general circumstances of the civil war of 1342-9, despite the absence of relevant agencies[9] this political expression did in fact manifest itself positively and forcefully and led to the overthrow of authority. The fact of the existence of bodies which came into being and functioned as political organisations under these specific historical circumstances is the subject of the present study[10]. This investigation of their essential nature will include an endeavour to show the forms of corporate bodies through which the people were able to participate in public life within the framework of the monarchic régime of fourteenth-century Byzantium, when the machinery of state was in a debilitated condition and the Empire in active decline. At the same time, the quest for their origins (as far as possible) and for the manner in which their activity was outwardly manifested is attended by an effort to evaluate these unofficial political parties from both an institutional and a cultural point of view.

## 1. THE ZEALOTS

One of the two organised groups, which led the revolution in Thessalonica and in the course of time was to work in association with the sailors, was that of the Zealots.

Commenting on the name 'Zealots'[11], Gregoras gives us to understand

*πολιτική ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰῶνα* (Thessaloniki, 1959), 27 ff.; E. Werner, 'Volkstümliche Häretiker oder sozial-politische Reformer? Probleme der revolutionären Volksbewegung in Thessalonike 1342-1349', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Universität Leipzig*, Bd. VIII (1958-9), 45-83.

8. Only Sjujumov, 'K voprosu', (p. 28), has broached this question. For his views, see note 45 below. Pandazopoulos N. also touches upon the matter from this point of view: *Ρωμαϊκὸν Δίκαιον*, p. 113.

9. The demarchs, through whom, in time-honoured tradition, the regency aspired to 'rouse the rabble' (N. Gregoras, *Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία*,—hereafter Gregoras, *Ἱστορία*—vol. II (Bonn, 1830), p. 608) do not appear to have finally managed to act as leaders of political factions during the civil war of 1342-9.

10. Concerning the significance which the examination of corporate bodies in its historical evolution has for greek law, see N. Pandazopoulos, 'Αἱ ἑλληνικαὶ "κοινωνίαι". Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὸ ἀττικὸν σωματειακὸν δίκαιον', (Athens 1946), repr. in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Σχολῆς NOE, vol. ΙΘ' fasc. Α'* (Thessaloniki, 1986), 205-211.

11. Gregoras, *Ἱστορία*, II, 674-5: 'ὀνόμασι χρηστοῖς τὴν τῆς κακίας ὑπόθεσιν περιπέττοντες'.

that it was not a new name, but had been taken from another body, another group that had existed before the present Zealots. What was this group, one wonders?

In the time of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-82), 'Zealots' were the members of a faction which largely comprised monks and members of the lower clerical orders[12]. They exerted widespread influence over the Byzantine people, probably on account of the faction's anti-aristocratic orientation, which put it at loggerheads with the 'politicians" faction, largely comprised of intellectuals and clergy[13]. A radical group, the original Zealots were a constant thorn in the side of imperial policy[14], most notably over the question of the union of the churches[15].

Gregoras's comment, therefore, may possibly refer to this party, whose roots lay chiefly in the Church.

When the revolution began in 1342, the Zealots in Thessalonica already had a certain core of supporters with a specific political orientation[16]. The group's strength steadily increased, until by 1346 it was considerable. By the time the Zealots were consolidating their dominance, the faction's cadres held important positions in the community bodies, and thus played a direct part in the exercise of revolutionary rule over the city[17].

Could one say that this group, which achieved distinction as a leading political force and managed to establish an autonomous régime[18] in Thessalonica for seven years, constituted a political party in the modern sense

12. D. Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons, 1261-1274', *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn* (Dublin, 1961), 454-480, p. 464.

13. H. Evert-Kappesova, 'La Société byzantine et l'Union de Lyon', *Byzantinoslavica*, 10 (1949), 28-41, p. 30-1; Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches', p. 464.

14. G. Rouillard, 'La Politique de Michel VII Paléologue à l'égard des monastères', *Revue des études byzantines*, 1 (1943), 73; Evert-Kappesova, 'La Société byzantine', p. 30.

15. Evert-Kappesova, 'La Société byzantine', pp. 29-30; Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches', p. 465; idem, 'The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274', *Studies in Church History*, VII, edited by G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 123, 139-40.

16. J. Cantacuzene, *Ἱστοριῶν βιβλία Δ'*, —hereafter Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*— (Bonn, 1828-1832), II, 233: 'ὑπὲρ βασιλέως τοῦ Παλαιολόγου'.

17. Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, 569.

18. Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, III, 104: 'ἑαυτοῖς [i.e. τοῖς Ζηλωταῖς] ἰδίᾳ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκης ἀρχὴν περιποιοῦντες'; Gregoras, *Ἱστορία*, II, 796: 'καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὑπεῖξαι κελεύοντες ἡγεμόνων, ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' εἶναι κανόνα καὶ νόμον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπερ ἂν ἐκείνοις δόξειεν'.

of the term[19]? Can one talk about the existence of *political* associations at that period? It seems to me that the primary material unearthed in the course of the present investigation allows conclusions to be drawn in this respect.

To be specific, it is true that unions with political aims were not unknown in fourteenth-century Byzantium, as is revealed by a text[20] dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century[21]. The valuable data to be extracted from it shed light on the composition and activity of a Byzantine political organisation. Entitled *Psephisma*[22], the text is a kind of pamphlet describing the process, verdict, and sentence passed (for reasons which are not made clear) on a certain civil servant (*pincernes*) by a special body of the members of the organisation, who had convened for the purpose.

From the *Psephisma* the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. This was a secret organisation; it met at night[23] and pseudonyms were employed by some of the members[24]. It was composed of individuals from Constantinople and numerous large Macedonian and Thracian towns[25]. Its political activity was reported in its own organs. In other words, the organisation was illegal, autonomous[26], and had a 'pan-Byzantine' range of activity.
2. From its composition and activity it is possible to infer its political character:

19. 'Political' is used here in its broadest sense with reference to any phenomenon which 'presupposes the state and defines it, together with other factors, as a specific historical stage of social coexistence' (D. Tsatsos, *Συνταγματικό Δίκαιο*, third edition, Athens and Komotini, 1982), 87, as distinct, that is, from those phenomena related to 'domestic economy and private life' (*ibid.*, p. 82).

20. H. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische "Mafia"', *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 7 (1969), 95-107. See also H.-V. Beyer, 'Personale Ermittlungen zu einem spätbyzantinischen Pamphlet', *BYZANTIOΣ—Festschrift für H. Hunger*, Wien 1984, 13-26.

21. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet', pp. 100, 102; the year 1333 is given as a terminus ad quem.

22. The text is published in Hunger,'Anonymes Pamphlet', pp. 96-7, (henceforth, *Psephisma*).

23. *Psephisma*, col. 18 (the leader is referred to as 'Νυκτίβιος συμποσίαρχος') and col. 41 (the meeting takes place at night: 'ὄρθριον'). See also Hunger's observation, 'Anonymes Pamphlet', p. 99.

24. 'Horned Diplobatatzes' ('Διπλοβατάτζης Κερασφόρος'), 'Nocturnal Symposiarch': ('Νυκτίβιος συμποσίαρχος') *Psephisma*, cols 1 and 18 respectively.

25. Xanthe, Drama, Serres, Beroea, Thessalonica: *Psephisma*, cols 21, 23, 26, 31, 32 respectively.

26. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet', p. 99.

a) the man accused and found guilty was a certain high-ranking civil servant, mentioned in his official capacity[27];
b) some members of the organisation were civil servants, as was the case, for instance, of George Cocalas, who bore the title of "great accountant"[28] and "great adnumiast"[29]; which shows that it had even penetrated the machinery of state;
c) two members, Andronicus Diplobatatzes and Melik 'of Beroea'[30], are mentioned as being 'steadfast in their faith in the King'[31], an ideological position which coincides with that of the Zealots of Thessalonica[32].

3. In addition to the active members who comprised its 'parliament', this political organisation also had supporters amongst the common masses, who played an active part in executing its decisions. The *Psephisma* is a case in point: having been arrested, stripped, trussed up, and paraded through the streets, the *pincernes* is to be beaten up by five 'notoriously vulgar' women, before finally being set free[33].

It is interesting to note that the leaders of the organisation included high-ranking government officials of the Empire[34]. The same socio-political dif-

27. *'Pincernes':* fourteenth in the court hierarchy, royal butler —Pseudo-Kodinos, *Περὶ τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων*, p. 137, col. 10, p. 207, col. 17. Concerning the judicial, military, and administrative authority that the bearers of this title actually wielded in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, see R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. I (Berlin, 1967), pp. 246, 249.

28. «μέγας λογαριαστής»: Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, I, p. 232, col. 7. This was a title attached to no actual office or function. Pseudo-Kodinos, *op. cit.*, p. 182, cols 26-7. See also Guilland, *Recherches*, vol. II, p. 279. Concerning the fiscal duties this post once entailed, see E. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Amsterdam, 1962), p. 33, note 1.

29. «μέγας ἀδνουμιαστής»: F. Miklosich and I. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. I (Vienna, 1860), p. 177 (hereafter M & M, *Acta*). This was a military office, which first appeared in the thirteenth century. See Kodinos, *op. cit.*, p. 250, cols 13-20; Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 53; Guilland, 'Sur quelques grands dignitaires byzantins du XIVe siècle', *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Σχολῆς Νομικῶν καὶ Οἰκονομικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν ΑΠΘ*, 5: Τόμος Κ. Ἀρμενόπουλου (Thessakoniki, 1952), pp. 179-183.

30. Concerning Melik, see Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet', p. 104.

31. *Psephisma*, cols 31-2: 'καὶ μάλιστα τὴν εἰς βασιλέα πίστιν ἀκλόνητοι'.

32. Gregoras, *Ἱστορία*, Η, p. 674, cols 22-4: (the Zealots) 'τὴν ἀνάῤῥησιν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ μέσης τε διάῤῥήδην ὤμνουν τῆς πόλεως'.

33. *Psephisma*, cols 13-17.

34. This applies to G. Cocalas, concerning whom, see notes 28 and 29 above and *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976), Faszikel 6 (Vienna 1983), No 14089.

ferentiation between the active members and the supporters, the leaders and the lower orders, is also encountered amongst the Zealots of Thessalonica[35].

People who a short time later were to play a fundamental part in events in Thessalonica as leaders of the Zealot faction were members of this organisation[36], a fact which, I believe, establishes a connection between the two groups. The aims of this party with its 'pan-Byzantine' range of activity must have met with a particularly keen response from the population of Thessalonica, where it won a number of supporters, who comprised the initial nucleus of the Zealots before the civil war began in 1342. Consequently, the Zealots of Thessalonica comprised a purely political party, which, regardless of whether or not it had a specific manifesto, was closely connected with a broader political organisation[37]. The two groups also shared certain common structural and ideological features: the sociopolitical differentiation of the leadership and the lower orders was similar in both cases[38]; and both groups professed at least verbal allegiance to the imperial house[39].

The fact that the members of the 'pan-Byzantine' organisation also included monks[40] may well reinforce the hypothesis outlined above concerning the religious basis of the Zealot party's name. The religious Zealots may have developed into a political faction[41], which was also joined by the laity; the

35. The Zealots were referred to as 'indigent and dishonourable' ('πενέστατοι καὶ ἄτιμοι'—Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 235), 'destitute' ('ἄποροι'—Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, III, p. 117), 'paupers very desirous of riches and glory' ('πλούτου καὶ δόξης ἀφιέμενοι πένητες' —Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 674), and in any case they took no part in the community bodies (Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 674). Their leader, however, was a member of the royal house of Palaeologus (Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 569).

36. This was the case with George Cocalas. Concerning his activity during the Zealot revolution, see Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 573-581. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet', p. 103, accepts that Cocalas was indeed involved in both organizations.

37. In 'Gouvernés et gouvernants', p. 281, Kyrris offers documented proof of the existence of a certain internal cohesion and mutual support between the revolutionary movements in the Empire's various towns and cities: 'Chez les insurgés dans toutes les villes... un service de liaison fonctionnait éfficacement...les régimes révolutionnaires parviennent à se consolider'.

38. Concerning how this social gap was manifested in practice during the Zealot revolution, see Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 581.

39. See notes 31 and 32 above.

40. Hilarion, Therapon, Tzamplacon: see *Psephisma*, cols 45, 49, and 44 respectively.

41. G. Weiss, in *Johannes Kantakuzenos—Aristokrat, Staatsman, Kaiser und Mönch in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14 Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 103, mentions, with examples, the frequent Byzantine phenomenon whereby 'Gruppen mit ursprünglich religiöser Zielsetzung werden "profenisiert", ja können den Charakter von politischen Parteien annehmen'.

latter may also have taken the most important positions, while the clerics, who had previously been the sole members, now constituted the rank and file. The reason for the party's conversion into a purely political body must be sought in the political, social, and economic impasse the Empire had now reached. The government in Constantinople was unable to offer solutions through the policy it was following, and the Emperor's subjects were working out their opposition through existing commonly accepted forms, thus 'legitimising' their actions. In other words, the originally religious Zealots may have constituted the initial cell and at the same time the basis for the formation of the 'pan-Byzantine', now purely political organisation: a political party, that is, through which a general and dynamic confrontation with the contemporary political establishment was now possible.

## II. THE SAILORS

The other group which conducted a co-ordinated intervention and played an active part in the events in Thessalonica was that of the sailors, who on occasion also co-operated with the Zealots as a strike force[42]. Although contemporary writers of the time mention the revolutionaries of Thessalonica without discriminating between them, and although these two groups offered each other both external co-operation and mutual internal support[43], the sailors nonetheless comprised an autonomous and separate group from the Zealots[44].

The prevailing view amongst scholars is that the sailors' group was in the nature of a guild[45]; which is to say that it was organised along the lines of

42. As in 1345-6 (Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, II, 575ff.) and in 1349 (*ibid.*, III, 109).

43. When the Zealot party was left without a leader, the whole of the anti-Cantacuzene faction was led by the sailors' leader, Andrew Palaeologus (*ibid.*, II, 576, and III, 105).

44. Apart from the fact that they had different leaders, in the sources they are presented as different groups (*ibid.*, II, 576), whose leaders sometimes apparently had identical aims (see, e.g., *ibid.*, II, 573).

45. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle*, pp. 33-4; Kyrris, 'Gouvernés et gouvernants'. pp. 293, 279 (indirectly expressed); Charanis, 'Internal Strife', p. 212. A. Christofilopoulos, in *Τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, (Athens, 1935), p. 4, note 2, is sceptical. Only Sjuzjumov, in 'K voprosu', p. 28, is of a different opinion, believing that this group must have comprised not only simple sailors, but also shipowners, businessmen, captains, and ships' pilots, forming a corps based on commercial interests. It is my own belief, however, that this hypothesis presupposes a flourishing Byzantine maritime trade, in order to justify the need for the agents involved in it to form a closed organisation; and in the fourteenth century this was not the case. In this context, concerning the city of Thessalonica in particular, where maritime trade was chiefly in Venetian hands, see F. Thiriet's study, 'Les Vénitiens à Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle', *Byzantion*, XXII (1952), 323-32. See also note 58 below.

the financial and professional corporate bodies whose functioning was governed by the stipulations of the Book of the Eparch[46].

However, in the fourteenth century, for reasons which must be sought in the activity of the Italian merchants[47] and the Byzantine aristocracy[48], the central authority had essentially lost all control over the Empire's economic life. Consequently, as a functional institution fundamental to the implementation of an economic policy characterised by the central authority's close guidance and control of professional and commercial activities[49], the guilds had by now disappeared (as other scholars have already ponted out)[50].

All the same, the sources attest the existence of professional associations at this time both in Constantinople and in Thessalonica[51]. But even if one

46 Concerning the guilds of the Book of the Eparch, see A. Stöckle, *Spätrömische und byzantinische Zünfte* (Aalen, 1963); A. Christofilopoulos, *Τὸ 'Επαρχικὸν Βιβλίον;* G. Zoras, *Le corporazioni bizantine: Studio sull' ΕΠΑΡΧΙΚΟΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ dell'imperatore Leone VI* (Rome, 1931); C. Macri, *L'organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie de Macédoine (867-1057)* (Paris, 1925); S. Vryonis, 'Byzantine ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ and the Guilds in the 11th Century', *DOP*, 17 (1963), 289-314.

47. G. Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis* (hereafter Pachymeres, *De Palaeologis*), Bonn 1835, I, pp. 419-20. See also D. Zakythinos, *Crise monétaire et crise économique à Byzance du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Athens, 1948), pp. 38-43; N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècle)* (Montreal, 1979), pp. 41-52; J. Chrysostomides, 'Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 267-356.

48. Concerning the economic power of the great landowners in general, see Zakythinos, *Crise monétaire*, pp. 49ff. (51-7). Concerning their financial activities in the cities, see E. Francès, 'La Féodalité et les villes byzantines au XIIIe et au XIVe siècle', *Byzantinoslavica*, 16 (1955), 76-96; M. Angold, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire', in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 239-40; A. E. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Study of Arrested Development', *Viator*, 4 (1973), 131-51; P. Charanis, 'Town and Country in the Byzantine Possessions of the Balkan Peninsula during the Later Period of the Empire', in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change*, H. Birnbaum-S. Vryonis (editors), (The Hague, 1961), 117-137, p. 136.

49. Christofilopoulos, *Τὸ 'Επαρχικὸν Βιβλίον*, p. 38.

50. E. Francès, 'La Disparition des corporations byzantines', *Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études Byzantines, Ochride 10-16 sept. 1961*, (Belgrade 1964-reimpression 1978), vol. II, pp. 93-101; P. Charanis, 'On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later', *Byzantinoslavica*, XII (1951), 149-52; idem, 'Economic Factors in the Decline of the Byzantine Empire', *Journal of Economic History*, XIII (1953), 422-3.

51. These were the guilds of the notaries, the perfumers, the masons, the butchers, and the salters: see Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 109-12, for references to the sources In 'Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπὶ βενετοκρατίας', *Τόμος 'Αμερόπουλου* (Thessaloniki, 1952), p. 148, A. Vacalopoulos also posits the existence of a drapers' guild.

accepts that the professions in Byzantium were organised in guilds, modelled not, however, on the stipulations of the Book of the Eparch but on the professional unions of the West[52], these 'guilds' differed in one vital respect from that of the sailors of Thessalonica: whereas the leaders of the former were at the same time members[53], the sailors were headed by a member of the house of Palaeologus, the 'ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης', Andrew Palaeologus[54]. This social distinction between leader and members was a characteristic feature of the sailors' group.

Finally, a reference in the sources to a 'special' governing authority 'separate from that of the city' that led the sailors[55], a) seems to set them apart not as a professional and economic group but as a primarily *political* section of the population of Thessalonica, and as such, b) gives them a special status. This status was probably regulated by and directly dependent on the central government in Constantinople: the fact that the group was headed by a member of the Emperor's close circle points to this conclusion.

So although the sailors of Thessalonica do not, I think, appear to have constituted a professional guild along the lines laid down by the Book of the Eparch, nor, probably, of other contemporary guilds, they were nonetheless directly controlled to a greater or lesser degree by the Constantinople government through the intermediary of a representative it had probably appointed itself as their leader.

But why, one wonders, were they organised in this way? The answer lies in an investigation and a closer definition of the nature of this group: who were these sailors and in what kind of activity were they engaged? That is to say, did they belong to the navy proper or to the mercantile marine?

52. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 113-14.

53. So, at least, their names indicate—'πρωτομαΐστωρ', 'πρωτομακελλάριος', 'πρωταλικάριος', 'ἔξαρχος': see Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 109-12. This also applied to the professional guilds of the tenth century: see Stöckle, *Spätrömische Zünfte*, p. 82; Christofilopoulos, *Τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον*, p. 47.

54. Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, III, p. 104. The title of 'ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης' corresponds to a purely courtly function (Pseudo-Kodinos, *Περὶ τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων*, p. 207; Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. I, pp. 237-238), but it may also have been applied to a military official (Guilland, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-6; in Pseudo-Kodinos, *ibid.*, pp. 218, 237, and 272, the title 'ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης' is mentioned next to the name of the "δομέστικος", a military official). Apart from by Andrew Palaeologus, this title was also held (at an earlier period) by George Choumnos: Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, II, 20.

55. Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, II, 575. This 'special authority' must have been a particular institution even before the civil war: see *ibid.*, cols 12-14: 'Ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἰδιάζουσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως· ὧν ἐκεῖνος [= Andrew Palaeologus] τ ὁ τ ε ἦρχε'.

As has already been noted[56], in Byzantium the professions were organised in guilds not in order to protect their own interests, as would have been the case in a free economy, but basically in order to serve the implementation of a closely directed economy. As components of the machinery of state, the guilds were the agents through which the government ensured both the control and the guidance of economic life[57]. However, after 1264 the Empire's economic situation entered a period of progressive decay brought on by both internal and external factors: the creation of power centres (the great secular and ecclesiastical landowners) that ruptured the unity of the Empire; the devaluation of the Byzantine currency; and the development of foreign merchants' commercial activity, which the Byzantine state safeguarded by awarding them privileges[58]. At this period, then, the Byzantine economy was far from robust, while its economic policy was not autonomous but determined to a great extent by factors beyond state control.

On the other hand, it cannot be said that Byzantine maritime trade was flourishing, to justify either the necessity of controlling and utilising a professional force connected with it or the organisation of this force in a guild with such particular characteristics as the sailors of Thessalonica.

These considerations lead one to consider and investigate the possibility that the sailors of Thessalonica belonged to the imperial navy. An examination and evaluation of the facts relating to Byzantium's navy at this period reveal the following data:

With the re-establishment of the Empire in 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus turned his attention to maritime operations[59], which he foresaw were a prerequisite for consolidating the Empire's sovereignty in the Mediterranean[60]. One of the first things he did was to create a navy[61] of some considerable

56. Christofilopoulos, *Τὸ 'Επαρχικὸν Βιβλίον*, p. 38.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Concerning the entrenchment and development of the great landowners, see G. Ostrogorski, 'Le Grand Domaine dans l'empire byzantin', *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin*, IV (Le Domaine) (Paris, 1983), pp. 35-50, (pp. 40-5); Charanis, 'On the Social Structure', pp. 94-118. Concerning the gradual devaluation of the Byzantine currency, see Zakythinos, *Crise monétaire*, pp. 1-29, (pp. 23-9). Concerning the activity of the Italian merchants as it is outlined in the archive material of their colonies, see M. Balard-A Laiou-and G. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris, 1987). See also note 47 above.

59. 'Μιχαὴλ Η' Παλαιολόγου, Αὐτοβιογραφία', *Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα* (edited by D. Zakythinos), Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 3 (Athens, 1957), p. 271.

60. Pachymeres, *De Palaeologis*, I, pp. 309-10: 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, μὴ τὸ πᾶν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας'.

61. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, p. 309; Gregoras, *'Ιστορία*, I, p. 98.

numerical strength[62]. The fleet, which in 1284 numbered eighty triremes[63], was disbanded in about that year by Andronicus II shortly after he came to the throne[64], at the instigation of nobles in his close circle, who were obliged to pay taxes towards the maintenance of the ships[65]. The Empire never had a permanent fleet again: it was re-established[66] and destroyed[67] many times thereafter. All the same, it is a fact that Byzantium had an imperial navy at least up until the end of the fourteenth century[68].

Who, then, comprised the crews that Michael VIII Palaeologus enlisted to man the warships? The following observations may be made in this regard:

A. In the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources[69] a special category of persons is encountered called *prosalentes* ("προσαλέντες"), who lived in

62. Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, p. 98, mentions that there were more than sixty ships.

63. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 69.

64. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 69-71; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 174-6.

65. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70.

66. For evidence of the existence of a fleet in 1340, see Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, I, pp. 539-40. In 1341 a fleet was built, half the work being financed by the state and half by contributions from capitalists of the Empire: see Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 65. During the civil war of 1342-9, the Empire's naval strength amounted to seventy ships (Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 243; according to Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 659, the fleet consisted of fifty triremes). Finally, during Cantacuzene's reign the fleet was destroyed and rebuilt three times: a) Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 63, 69-70; b) *op. cit.*, 72; Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 856; c) Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, III, p. 81. Concerning the situation of the imperial navy during the years 1340-1355 see Kl.-P. Matschke, 'Johannes Kantakuzenos, Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Flotte in der Bürgerkriegsperiode 1340-1355', *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines*, Bucarest 1971 (Bucarest 1975), II, 193-205.

67. In 1329, Byzantium apparently had no fleet, but only 'τὸ τῆς δειλίας τεκμήρια ἀκάτια καὶ ἐφόλκια' (Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, p. 433). The fleet was destroyed again during Cantacuzene's reign: see note 66 above.

68. This may be deduced from Theodore Potakios's 'Monody to John Palaeologus', C. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice 1872-reimpr. Athens 1972), I, p. 196, where it is stated that the Emperor built a fleet: 'τριήρεις πελάγει φοβούσας τοὺς πολεμίους...πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς χρείας ἐξαρτύειν ἠπείγετο'. It is unknown which John Theodore Potakios had in mind. However, the first John Palaeologus was John V who reigned until 1391. Concerning the existence of a fleet up until the end of the fourteenth century, see also H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 386-7.

69. *Actes de Lavra*, II, Archives de l'Athos, VIII (edited by P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, and D. Papachryssanthou) (Paris, 1977), No 73 (year 1284) col. 10, No 74 (year 1284) col. 6, No 77 (year 1284) cols 11-12, No 99 (year 1304) col. 10; *Actes de Lavra*, III, Archives de l'Athos, X (the same editors) (Paris, 1979), No 139 (year 1361) col. 13; *Actes de Xénophon*, Archives de l'Athos, XV (edited by D. Papachryssanthou) (Paris, 1986), No 22 (year 1333) cols 2 and 20-1, No 25 (year 1338) cols 110-11.

coastal areas and owned land[70]. Their land was in a category of its own, separate from public land and private estates ('προνοιακαὶ γαῖες')[71]. It apparently served military needs, which is to say that it was intended to cover various needs that might arise relating to the Byzantine machinery of war. This, at least, is what one may gather from evidence[72] that in the *katepanikion* of Psalidophurna in the Sithonia region, land confiscated from *prosalentes* was given to soldiers[73].

B. It has been argued[74] that the *prosalentes* may be identified as the *proselontes* ("προσελῶντες") mentioned by Pachymeres. These were a corps of oarsmen whom Michael VIII called up from all the coastal areas of the Empire and put in the service of the fleet's strike forces: the Tzaconians and the gasmules[75].

This view[76] may be accepted for the following reasons:

a) because '*prosalentes*' rights' (i.e. land belonging to *prosalentes*) are encountered on Lemnos, Cassandra, and Sithonia (the *katepanikion* of Psalidophurna), which were all near naval bases of the Empire[77];
b) because, as has been pointed out[78], in the fourteenth century, warships were manned, apart from by the Tzaconians and the gasmules, by crews who frequently received gifts of land in compensation for compulsory naval service.

70. Known as the 'rights of the *prosalentes*' ('προσαλεντικὰ δίκαια'): *Actes de Lavra*, II, No 73 col. 10; *Actes de Xénophon*, No 22 cols 20-1. See also *Actes de Xénophon*, No 25 (year 1338) cols. 110-11.

71. *Actes de Xénophon*, No 22 (year 1333) cols 1-3: 'προσαλεντῶν, ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, μοναστηριακῶν, χρυσοβουλλάτων καὶ λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ... παραδοῦναι ἑ κ ά σ τ ω τὸ οἰκεῖον ποσόν...'.

72. *Actes de Xénophon*, No 25 (year 1338) cols 110-11.

73. This fact (from which one may, I think, infer that the reason for the existence and cession of this land was military) should be considered to have been linked with the disbanding of the fleet in 1284, which led to the scattering of the crews (Ahrweiler, *De Palaeologis* II, p. 71; Gregoras, *Ἱστορία*, I, pp. 175-6).

74. *Actes de Lavra*, II, pp. 17-18, comment.

75. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, p. 309.

76. With which N. Oikonomidès agrees: 'A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies des soldats', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 8 (1981), 358.

77. Concerning the fact that Thessalonica and Lemnos, both areas in or near which there was land belonging to *prosalentes*, were naval bases of the Empire under Michael VIII Palaeologus, see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 360. Concerning Lemnos, see also Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, 98, cols 15-16.

78. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 405.

This information would allow us, I think, to identify the *prosalentes* as the auxiliary hands—that is, the oarsmen of the fleet whom Michael VIII Palaeologus mustered from all the coastal areas of the Empire[79]. This force enlisted from the provinces comprised a body of sailor-farmers, who were permanently available for manning the warships, a practice which was by no means unusual in Byzantium: it was customary both in the army, particularly in the seventh to tenth centuries[80], and in the navy[81].

B. The second category of crewsmen Michael VIII Palaeologus selected to man his fleet comprised the Tzaconians and the gasmules[82]. The latter were the offspring of mixed marriages between Byzantines and Latin[83]; they were inhabitants of Constantinople[84] and described by contemporary historians describe them as 'hot-tempered' and 'insolent'[85], 'youthful men, voracious in their impulses and desires'[86], 'vulgar and impudent'[87], and 'utterly daring and

79. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, 309: 'παντα χοῦ τῶν κατ' αἰγιαλοὺς χωρῶν καλούς τε καὶ πλείστους ἀπέταξεν'.

80. Select bibliography: G. Stadtmüller, 'Oströmische Bauern und Wehrpolitik', *Neujahr für deutsche Wirtschaft*, XIII (1937), 421-38; J. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c. 550-950: A Study on the Origins of Stratiotika Ktemata* (Vienna, 1979); G. Ostorogorsky, 'Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages', *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1966), 203-234, pp. 207-8. The institution of the military estates must be distinguished from the similar institution of the military *pronoia*, which subsequently flourished during the Comnenian period. Concerning this distinction, see P. Charanis, 'On the Social Structure', pp. 130-4. Despite its decline, this institution seems to have survived until the fourteenth century: one of the aims of Emperor John V's domestic policy in 1367 was to give land to soldiers (M & M, *Acta*, I, 507: 'ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος βούλεται καταστῆσαι στρατιώτας ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἔξω τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μέχρι τῆς Σηλυβρίας οἷς καὶ βούλεται δοῦναι τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς χωράφια καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς').

81. Νεαρὰ Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογέννητου, Zepos J. and P. (editors), *Jus Graeco-romanum* (second edition, Aalen 1962), (hereafter Zepoi, *J.G.*), I, 223. Concerning the institution of naval land, see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 219; P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium* (Galway, 1979), pp. 234-6; E. Malamut, 'Les Insulaires des 10e-12e siècles: marins ou soldats?', *Akten XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, Oktober 1981* (Vienna, 1982), vol. II, pp. 63ff. (pp. 69-70).

82. Pachymeres, *De Palaeologis*, I, p. 309; Gregoras, '*Ἱστορία*', I, p. 98. Concerning the Tzaconians, see K. Amandos, Τσακωνία-Sclavonia', *Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκιν* (Athens 1921), pp. 130-4; Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 55. Concerning the gasmules, see D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée: Vie et institutions*, second edition (London, 1975), pp. 38-40; Matschke, 'Die byzantinische Flotte...', p. 194-196.

83. 'διγενεῖς' (Pachymeres, *De Palaeologis*, I, p. 309), 'σύμμικτοι' (*ibid.*, 188).

84. See note 95 below.

85. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, 188: 'ὁρμητικοὶ καὶ αὐθάδεις'.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 309: 'ἄνδρες νεανικοί, τὰς ὁρμὰς καὶ τὰς προθυμίας λαφυκτικοί'.

87. Gregoras, '*Ἱστορία*, II, p. 736: 'ἀγοραῖοι καὶ ἀσύνετοι'.

shameless'[88]. They manned the Byzantine warships until John Cantacuzene came to the throne[89], whereupon they were dismissed from service, evidently on account of the political role they had played during the civil war of 1341-7 on behalf of the regency's government[90].

It is very likely that there were gasmules in Thessalonica too[91], for it was not only a commercial port and centre of trade with the West, but also an important naval base of the Empire in Michael VIII's time[92]. It is probable, then, that they too were used to man the warships, given that the crews of the Byzantine fleet were not selected only from the capital, as we have seen from the example of the *prosalentes*, who were enlisted from all the coastal areas of the Empire[93].

As Hélène Ahrweiler has observed, Michael VIII Palaeologus was the first emperor, for political and military reasons, to use the indigenous labour force to man his warships, and limit the costly engagement of foreign mercenaries, who had always manned the Byzantine fleet hitherto[94]. The gasmules in particular, inhabitants of the Empire's large cities and towns[95] and offspring of mixed marriages, as we have seen, between Byzantines and Latins, could not unreservedly be described as natives. In the sources they are described as 'barbarians'[96], a word the Byzantines used at that time not only of people of

88. *Ibid.*, II, p. 738: 'πάντολμοι καὶ ἀναιδεῖς'.

89. During the second civil war, they manned the ships stationed at Constantinople: *ibid.*, II, p. 736, col. 8.

90. This is the view of Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 405, and is reinforced by the fact that the fleet built under John Cantacuzene was manned by sailors chosen personally by himself. See Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, III, p. 74, cols 4-5: 'ναύτας τε κατέλεγεν ὁ βασιλεύς'.

91. In *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle*, pp. 18-19, Tafrali unreservedly accepts the presence of gasmules in the city of Thessalonica; as does Ahrweiler in *Byzance et la mer*, p. 405.

92. Concerning Thessalonica a) as a commercial centre, see F. Thiriet, 'Les Vénitiens à Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle', *Byzantion*, XVII (1952), 323-32, and b) as a naval base, see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, pp. 360, 370-1.

93. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, p. 309.

94. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 405.

95. In *Le Despotat grec*, p. 39, Zakythinos maintains that the gasmules of the navy *were transported*, together with the Tzaconians, from the Peloponnese. According to Pachymeres, however (*op. cit.*, I, p. 309), Michael Palaeologus enlisted on the one hand Tzaconians, whom (and only whom) 'the sovereign transferred' ('μετῴκιζεν ὁ κρατῶν') and on the other gasmules 'from the whole city' ('ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν').

96. Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 737: 'ἄνδρας...χρωμένους τοῖς ξίφεσι ξὺν πολλῇ...ὠμότητι καὶ βαρβαρικῇ τῇ θρασύτητι...'. Concerning the meaning that was attached to the term, see H. Ditten, 'Βάρβαροι, Ἕλληνες καὶ Ρωμαῖοι bei den letzten byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern', *Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 1961*, vol. II (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 273-99.

another religion[97], but also of correligionists[98], including Roman Catholic Westerners[99]. On the basis of the gasmules' dual origins, the Venetians sought their allegiance[100]. Again, after the dissolution of the Byzantine fleet, this dual descent enabled a considerable number of them to go over to the Latins, both as regular sailors[101] and as pirates[102].

Consequently, Michael VIII Palaeologus had every reason to seek to assimilate this force of dubious ethnic allegiance[103] and employ it in the service of the Empire's machinery of war.

He probably pursued this aim by mustering these sailors and placing them, in the towns in which they were enlisted, in a special category, a separate group of professional military men. By means of this group he was able on the one hand to provide its members with professional employment[104] and on the other to assure himself of an experienced force, available and ready to man the Empire's warships. This is one interpretation, at least, of Pachymeres's reference to the '*ἀποτεταγμένον* στρατιωτικόν τε καὶ μάχιμον'[105] force which manned the Byzantine warships and found itself out of work[106] when the fleet was disbanded in 1284.

This tactic of appointing in advance and ensuring an available naval force ready for war was by no means unusual in Byzantium, albeit it was implemented under different historico-socio-political circumstances, with different presuppositions, and by different methods. From the eighth to the eleventh century—a period of decentralisation of the military administra-

97. Such as the Turks, for instance (see Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 649).

98. Such as the Serbs, for instance (*ibid.*, II, pp. 648 and 654).

99. See 'Απόφανση XIV Δ. Χωματιανοῦ, Zepoi *J.G.* VII, 531.

100. See the Chrysobull of 1277 in M & M, *Acta*, III, 89.

101. Gregoras, *op. cit.*, I, p. 175.

102. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 71.

103. The Westerners' description of the gasmules is significant: 'Ils se demonstrent Grecz avecques les Grecz et Latins avec les Latins...' (Zakythinos, *Le Despotat*, p. 40, from which the above quotation is taken).

104. Concerning the wages paid to the sailors, see Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, p. 188: '...ῥόγας μὲν ἀποτάττων αὐτοῖς [= τοῖς γασμούλοις] ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταμιείου καὶ φιλοτιμίας αὔξων τὰς προθυμίας, ἀντιλαμβάνων δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων σπουδῆς καὶ ἐργασίας πλείονα...' and 'Λάκωσι,... ῥόγαις ἐτησίοις δωρούμενος...'. The sailors of the imperial navy also received wages in 1342-3: 'στρατιὰν ... ναυτικὴν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τρέφεσθαι ἀνάγκη' (Cantacuzene, *Ἱστορία*, II, p. 365, cols 21-3).

105. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 71, cols 4-5. See H.-G. Liddell - R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968 (repr. of the 8th edition), s.v. 'ἀποτάσσω': set apart, assign specially, appoint.

106. Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, II, p. 71, col. 5: 'παρ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντες'.

tion, when both imperial and thematic fleets existed simultaneously—the crews for the themes' fleets were enlisted locally on the basis of registers of 'specially appointed sailors' ('ἀποτεταγμένοι πλώϊμοι'). These were the local inhabitants who were registered as having been personally commissioned to man the local fleet whenever necessary, and were known as αὐτερέτες[107].

Michael VIII may have chosen this method for another reason too: he gathered together this force, these 'mankillers'[108] and 'eager fighters'[109], these rowdies who 'in almost all disturbances are at the head of the whole rabble, which willingly follows wherever they may lead it'[110], in a group that was directly answerable to the centres of power, and appointed his own representative as their leader. In so doing, he assured himself of the control and surveillance of those social forces that were actively threatening to upset the established sociopolitical structures.

Is it feasible to identify the Thessalonica sailors who sided with the Zealots in the period 1342-9 as the sailors under discussion? It seems that it could be for three reasons:

a) because there is no other explanation for their submission to a 'special' governing authority 'separate from that of the city'[111], which differentiated them from the rest of the city's population from the point of view of the political status quo;

b) because, as we have seen[112], their leader's title, 'ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης', probably indicates that he was *also* invested with military jurisdiction;

c) because the indisputable authority their leader apparently wielded over men who, after all, carried weapons[113], could only be attributed to the fact that they comprised a military association. One could thus argue that, although the crews were scattered when the fleet was

107. Concerning this method of enlisting the crews of the themes' fleets (a method which is acknowledged as valid in Constantine Porphyrogennetus's Novel VIII (= Zepoi *J.G.* I, 222)), see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 401.

108. 'ἀνδρόφονοι': Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 738.

109. 'προμηθεῖς εἰς πολέμους': Pachymeres, *op. cit.*, I, p. 188.

110. 'σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι πάσαις αὐτοὶ τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους ἐξηγοῦνται προθύμως ἑπομένου, ᾗ ἂν ἄγωσιν αὐτοί': Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 575.

111. See note 55 above.

112. See note 54 above.

113. Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 575: 'διά τε οὖν τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐνοιαν ἣν εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν, προθύμως ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἀνελάμβανον τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι παντὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι'.

disbanded in 1284[114], some sailors must have remained in the towns and cities, unemployed but still attached to the units to which they had belonged as sailors in the imperial navy[115]. In other words, the professional fighting collective bodies probably lost their original raison d'être without, however, changing their fundamental structure nor the fact that they were directly controlled by the state. One wonders whether these corporate bodies facilitated or conduced thereafter to their members' practice of some profession or other gainful occupation, such as piracy[116]; but it is not possible to give a specific answer.

To sum up:

The sailors' 'guild' which took part in the events in Thessalonica was probably originally not an economic but a military association set up by Michael VIII Palaeologus for military, national, and social reasons. The fact that a *politically* significant professional category was essentially subject to the same régime as that which governed the guilds that were economically vital to the Empire (which made it possible to control and direct them) was no new phenomenon in Byzantium. The case of the notaries' guild[117] (whose internal functioning was regulated, furthermore, by the Book of the Eparch itself) was a similar one: in this case, the purpose of state control was to imple-

114. See note 64 above.

115. During the civil war (1341 and afterwards) there were gasmules in Constantinople who continued to man the imperial fleet and who, as a corps, were under the leadership of Alexius Apocaucus: Gregoras, *op. cit.*, II, p. 736. Matschke, 'Die byzantinische Flotte...', 196-198.

116. It should be noted that in the thirteenth century it was not only foreigners who engaged in piracy, but also citizens of the Byzantine Empire from Thessalonica, Monembasia, and elsewhere, and also gasmules. See P. Charanis, 'Piracy in the Aegean during the Reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, X (1950), 127-136, pp. 129-131; D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée: histoire politique*, second edition (London, 1975), pp. 85f.; Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 370, 377. (Tafrali, in *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle*, p. 34, and Charanis, in 'Internal Strife', p. 212, both maintain (though without reference to primary sources) that the sailors of Thessalonica did indeed engage in piracy). It may have been against precisely these indigenous pirates, who had *turned against the Empire* ('armarentur in offensionem sive laesionem partis Imperii nostri') that the central government resorted to a mutual confrontation together with the Narbonne merchants in 1340: see the Novel of Andronicos III, Zepoi, *J.G.* I, 588, from which the above quotation is taken.

117. Concerning this guild, see the *Book of the Eparch* (edited by J. Nicole (London, 1970), Variorum), chapter I. See also Christofilopoulos, *Τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον*, pp. 77-80; Stöckle, *Spätrömische Zünfte*, pp. 17-20; V. Nerandzi-Varmazi, 'Οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ ταβουλλάριοι', *Ἑλληνικά*, 35 (1984), 261-74.

ment an internal policy intended to supervise the way in which the members of this profession implemented the law. In other words, the aim was to control the Empire's *juridical* life and not necessarily to implement a specific economic policy.

The sailors' 'guild' preserved its fundamental character after the fleet was disbanded in 1284, probably by changing the purpose of its existence.

Finally, Philotheus's comment on the origins of the Thessalonica revolutionaries—'not natives but alien barbarians, whom necessity has forced to flee the outermost parts of the Empire and the islands and gather here'[118] —makes one wonder whether the corps of Thessalonica's sailors was not swelled by the sailor-farmers *prosalentes,* likewise former crewmen of the imperial navy, who, after the fleet was disbanded in 1284 and their land taken back[119] sought refuge in Thessalonica and settled there, creating a force of unemployed professionals.

## III. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the suppression of civil liberties inherent in Byzantium's monarchical and centralised régime, the people's political expression became organised and was manifested at a time when the machinery of state was in an advanced state of decay. This took place particularly through the following collective groupings:

1. public bodies, whose structure was directly controlled by the state and whose function was primarily to serve the implementation of state policy. Under the appropriate circumstances, however, they were changed into political groups or popular strike forces (the sailors);

2. private associations, which were a phenomenon of the times[120]. In

118. Philotheos Kokkinos, 'Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου...Σάβα τοῦ νέου', C. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμητικῆς Σταχυολογίας* (reimpression Bruxelles 1963), V, 190-359, p. 194: 'οὐχ ἡμεδαπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπηλύδων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἔκ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσχατιῶν καὶ τῶν κύκλωθεν νήσων ὑπ' ἀνάγκης φυγάδων αὐτόθι συνελθόντων'.

119. This confiscation cannot have been universally applied, given that 'rights of *prosalentes*' are also encountered after the fleet was disbanded in 1284. Evidence from 1361 concerning Lemnos is encountered in *Actes de Lavra,* III, No 139.

120. When conditions of political instability and strong socio-political claims are present the formation or the secret activity of comparable political corporate bodies is not a rare phenomenon. The activity of the ὀργεῶνες in 5th century BC Athens constitutes an analogous instance. See Pandazopoulos, 'Αἱ ἑλληνικαὶ «κοινωνίαι»', 251-256, where these collective bodies are examined from a socio-historical point of view.

view of their political aspect, they convened and functioned in secret, and their direct aim was to seize power (the 'pan-Byzantine' organisation and the Zealots). With respect to these unions, the following observations may be made.

a) Their internal organisation and functioning were governed, at least up until 1342, by a system characteristic of democratically structured political organisations, rather than monocratic and centralised ones, such as was the Byzantine state itself. Their activity, in other words, was determined through collective organs and collective processes[121].

b) Their function could be characterised only in negative, not positive terms: these political parties represented, without exception, the socio-political classes which were opposed to the central authority and which, irrespective of the further interests each of them pursued, had as their prime and immediate aim the overthrow of the established socio-political order. However, this was also their ultimate aim. Precisely on account of their composition, allied with the fact that political expression had not previously been cultivated in Byzantium, they do not seem to have constituted the sort of bodies through which it would have been possible to promote a unified (i.e. universally acceptable), alternative political solution or to establish and consolidate a political régime unreservedly supported by all their members[122]. The Zealot régime neither had nor was based on any theoretical or contemporary and actual model, such as those of Ancient Greece or the Italian republics respectively[123]. It was simply the spontaneous manifestation of political expression on the part of the Emperor's subjects, which led to, and ended in, the promotion of new centres of power.

c) With respect to the specific character of these unions, the following observations may be made. Regardless of the origins of the Zealot party, it is worth noting its attachment to a name that called to mind

121. *Psephisma*, col. 18: 'ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντες'.

122. The nature of these Byzantine (political) groups, whose aim was the mutual support and co-ordination of their members' activities, and not the imposition of specific alternative solutions, is mentioned by Weiss, in *Johannes Kantakuzenos*, pp. 2-3.

123. Ševčenko, in 'The Zealot Revolution', pp. 616-17, Hrochova, in 'La Révolte des Zélotes', pp. 13-15, and Kyrris, 'Gouvernés et gouvernants', pp. 328-9, offer documented support for this view, unlike Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle*, p. 256, who argues for a connection between the Zealots' revolution and that of Simone Boccanegra a short time earlier.

organisations of a religious nature and with religious activity. But apart from this, their adoption of the Cross as their device[124] and the rebaptisms they performed in Thessalonica[125] (whether or not these were a screen for political acts) are evidence of this fact: that religion, which had always been an inseparable part of Byzantine culture, *also* had a political dimension, given that, at least to all outward appearances, it was a sine qua non, the common point of reference of any political manifestation or expression. It may be precisely this point, this close relationship between politics and religion, that constitutes the essential characteristic of political practice in Byzantium, as it was manifested on the level not only of the official machinery of state but also of the power of the people.

124. Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, p. 234: 'σταυρὸν... ἐχρῶντο ὥσπερ σημαίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτῳ ἔλεγον στρατηγεῖσθαι'.

125. Cantacuzene, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 570-1.

*MAGDALENA STOJANOVA*

# THE CEMETERY CHURCH OF ROŽEN MONASTERY

Rožen Monastery is situated on a hill between Rožen and Melnik amidst magnificent mountain scenery. Isolated from busy centres and difficult of access—though rich in natural beauty—this position has proved exceptionally favourable for the monastery's survival up to the present day. Its architecture indicates a relatively early construction date, around the twelfth or thirteenth century[1], but the first written source for Rožen Monastery dates only from 1551[2]. Having studied a great number of Greek documents, the architect Alkiviadis Prepis[3] has established that the monastery was originally a dependency with a church dedicated to St George, which was built in the thirteenth century by the Byzantine soldier George Contostephanus Calameas and his wife. According to surviving data from the period up until 1351, in 1309 they presented the dependency to the Georgian Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, and continued to enrich it[4]. After this area was conquered by

1. On the basis of the construction and the plan, Assen Vassiliev dates the church to about the twelfth century: A Vassiliev, *Ktitorski portreti*, Sofia 1960, p. 88. George Trajchev opines that the monastery was built in 1217 (*Manastirite v Makedonija*, Sofia 1933, pp. 192-3). The opinion that the church dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century is shared by Metropolitan Pimen of Nevrokop ('Roženskija manastir', *Tsarkoven vestnic*, 17 (1962) 14) and Professor V. Pandurski ('Tsarcovni starini v Melnik, Ročenskija manastir i Sandanski', *Duhovna cultura*, 4 (1964) 16-18). Nichola Mavrodinov suggests an earlier date in: 'Tsarcvi i manastiri v Melnik i Rožen, *Godishnik na narodnija musej*, vol. V (1926-1931), Sofia 1933, p. 301. According to Theodoros Vlahos, the monastery was founded in the twelfth century and became a dependency of Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos in the thirteenth (*Die Geschichte der byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon*, Thessaloniki 1969, p. 78).

2. A manuscript of 1551, which is now in the Great Lavra, contains a note by hieromonk Cosma, Abbot of Rožen Monastery. Cf. Alkiviadis Prepis, 'Srednovecovni architecturni pametnitsi v Melnik' (unpublished dissertation, Sofia-ITIGA, 1984), p. 63.

3. Prepis, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-64.

4. Donor's act presenting the Church of St George in the neighbourhood of Melnik to Iviron Monastery (according to the writer of the document, Rožen Monastery's church was originally dedicated to St George); royal decree of August 1310 by Michael IX Palaeologus (1294-1320) confirming Iviron Monastery's ownership of the Church of St George in the neighbourhood of Melnik; royal decree of July 1351 by John Cantacuzene concerning

the Ottomans in 1395, the monastery was probably abandoned until the first half of the sixteenth century, when new donors renovated it. The catholicon was originally dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, and later rededicated to her Nativity: some writers interpret the name Rožen as deriving from the Bulgarian word *roždestvo,* which means 'nativity'[5]. The continuity between the two monasteries connected with Iviron is also confirmed by documents which were presented at the international tribunal dealing with the 'Rožen Monastery case' at the beginning of the century, when it was still a dependency of Iviron[6].

The cemetery church itself, which is dedicated to the Nativity of St John the Baptist, stands to the north-west of the monastery walls, hard by the cemetery. Its position in line with the setting sun is symbolic of its function as the last terrestrial refuge of the dead monks' souls. It was from here that the monks were sent off to the 'eternal' world, accompanied by prayers for mercy for their sinful souls, psalms, and funeral hymns. An old custom, which the Christians took from the Jews, was followed, whereby their mortal remains were buried, and some time later their bones were exhumed, washed with wine (Christ's blood), and placed in the crypt of the cemetery church, in accordance with the belief that those who die in Christ will be resurrected for eternal life.

In a study written in 1964, Assen Vassiliev states that the cemetery church was built in 1597, basing this view on an inscription he had seen on one of the outer walls[7]. When the church was being restored, no trace of this inscription could be found, and Vassiliev's assertion is contradicted by the inscription in the nave, which runs: Ἀνηγέρθη καὶ ἀνιστορήθη ὁ θεῖος οὗτος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου δι' ἐξόδου τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου ἐν ἱερομο-

supplementary endowments by Calameas in the Melnik-Goremistika area. Sotirios Kissas, however, is of the opinion that Rožen Monastery became a dependency of Iviron only in the eighteenth century: at the Second Bulgaristica Congress in Sofia in 1986, he reported newly discovered documents, according to which the Church of St George was situated on a river in which case it could not have been Rožen Monastery's original church. Kissas's arguments will be published in the Proceedings of the Congress.

5. Violeta Nesheva, 'Primos kăm prouchvaneto na Ročenskija monastir', *Vecove,* 3, Sofia 1983 p. 5. Prepis notes that Rožen Monastery was originally dedicated to the Koimesis and to the Virgin Portaitissa, like the catholicon of Iviron Monastery, and later to the Nativity of the Virgin (*op. cit.*, p. 56).

6. The documents are presented by Des Felini Calamea in *Archives of Rožen Monasery,* Rožen.

7. Assen Vassiliev, 'Izsledvanija na izobrazitelnoto iscustvo v niacoi selishta po dolinata na Struma', *Izvestija na Instituta za izolbrazitelno iscustvo,* 7, Sofia 1964, p. 185.

νάχοις Κου Κου Θεοδοσίου καὶ πρωτοσυγγέλου, ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ πανιερωτάτου καὶ μουσικωτάτου μητροπολίτου Μελενίκου Κου Κου Σιλβέστρου. Ἔτη ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ 1662. Ἐν μηνὶ Ἰουλίου 10.

Regardless of the exact date when the construction of the cemetery church began, its consecration marks the end of the first period of the monastery's history, after which it received the name of 'Rožen'. This period saw the painting of the frescoes on the west and south façades of the catholicon between 1597 and 1611, and probably the first pictorial layer in the narthex of the catholicon[8]. The scarce data for this layer do not allow us to view the cemetery church as a part, probably, of a general programme for the monastery's renovation.

Its architectural plan shows the cemetery church to be a two-storey single-naved structure with an entrance on the north side. Like other churches surviving in Melnik, it was built on a stone plinth[9]. The floor is of brick and the roof of timber. From the nave with altar and the narthex only the first is decorated. The east wall has two apses, one in the middle and one further to the north, corresponding to the two entrances in the wooden iconostasis. The single-naved type of church was still being built in the Byzantine period, and is one of the most common types in medieval Bulgarian architecture: churches Nos 5 and 11 in Trapsiza, St Nicholas's in Kalotino, St Peter's in Berende, St Spiridon's at Spileotissa, and the Church of St John the Baptist at the Monastery of St Charalampos in Melnik are all examples of the type. Nor is the two-storey, single-naved church a rarity: St Nicholas's in Bojana, the cemetery church of Bachkovo Monastery, and the Church of St John the Baptist in Assenovgrad are of this type. The simple plan of Rožen Monastery's cemetery church is in complete harmony with the building's modest measurements and undecorated façade. It is characteristic of most Bulgarian churches built during the period of Ottoman domination.

Since archaeological investigations in the surrounding area have been abandoned, we do not know whether the present building was constructed on the site of an earlier church, as was frequently the case with Byzantine churches[10]. Oral tradition has it that other churches also existed in the neigh-

8. Mavrodinov, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Vassiliev, 'Izsledvanija', p. 179.

9. Mavrodinov, *ibid*; Pandurski, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

10. Supernatural powers were attributed to the relics of saints who had been sanctified during their lifetime and had performed miracles in the name of God. A frequent practice was to build a new church over a crypt containing a saint's relics, to ensure its sanctity. The same was probably the case with medieval cemetery churches too.

bourhood of the monastery, but we know nothing of them today.

The fact that the church was dedicated to St John the Baptist is quite understandable if we bear in mind that it was part of the monastery complex and that this saint was honoured both as a hermit and, together with the Theotokos, as the great intercessor before Christ for the souls of the dead. It is in precisely this latter capacity that he is portrayed in the scene of the *Deesis*, which forms the compositional centre of the Last Judgement and is sometimes used as a short formula for it. According to Orthodox belief, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist are the only human beings to be assigned to the ranks of the angels. In the daily vespers, after the Canticle of Simeon two Odes are sung[11], the first of which is a prayer to the Mother of God and the second a prayer to John the Baptist: 'O thou, Baptist of Christ, John, speak for us all before the throne of God in order to save us from our sins, for unto thee is given the power to pray for us'[12]. The same text is sung at Great Vespers[13]. On account of his capacity of intercession, John the Baptist was early on connected with the burial rite, since he indicated the only way to salvation[14]. One of the earliest examples of the consecration of a cemetery church to John dates from the end of the eleventh century. In the first Russian monastery, which was founded by the hermits Anthony and Theodosius of Petchera in the catacombs near Kiev, the original church was dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin[15]; after the construction of a newer and larger catholicon in 1075, the older church was converted into a funerary chapel and placed under the patronage of the Baptist[16]. It stood to the north-west of the new church and there was no direct connection between the two. This chapel was decorated in an unusual way: the ancient Russian prayers for the souls of the dead were interspersed with scenes depicting the preparation of the body for its final journey to the grave and the burial ceremony[17].

11. R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlagen zu einer Geschichte der Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, Giessen 1976, vol. I, p. 123.

12. *Chasoslov slovenobulgarski*, Belgrade 1833, p. 68.

13. Martyrij Chemer, *Nai upotrebitelnite molitvi*, Plovdiv 1875, p. 17.

14. Luke 3:2-4.

15. *Povest vremenyh let*, I, published by the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Moscow and Leningrad 1950, pp. 107, 307.

16. M. M. Zaharchenko, *Kiev teper i prežde*, Kiev 1888, p. 101; D. V. Ainalov, *Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst*, I-II, Berlin and Leipzig 1932-1933, pp. 24-5, fig. 4, 17.

17. T. Ouspenski, 'Sinodik v Nedelju pravoslavija', *Journal ministerstva narodnago prosveschtenija*, 274, St Petersburg, April 1891, pp. 310-20. The cemetery church was destroyed in 1944 during the war.

The wall-paintings of the Rožen cemetery church do not include the eschatological representations to be seen in the Kiev-Petchera Monastery or Bachkovo Monastery, for instance, where scenes from the Last Judgement still survive in the crypt narthex. The initial impression the frescoes produce as an ensemble is quite different from what the building's unpretentious exterior might lead one to expect. The abundant ornamental motifs on the clothes and the architectural fragments, and the ochre, red, green, and blue on a black background all contribute to a markedly decorative impression. The absence of architectural decoration on the outside is compensated for in the interior by the images which densely cover the walls. When one enters, one is not immediately aware of the real architectural volumes, but of the depicted ones, for the dimness of the artificially illuminated space is continued in the black background to the representations. Owing to this diffusion of the physical into the figurative space, the cemetery church seems more spacious than it actually is. The walls are of scarcely more than average human height, which means that the iconographical programme is disposed chiefly on a horizontal plane. In the central apse, the Mother of God is portrayed as the Platytera and flanked by St Basil the Great in the thickness of the arch on her left and St John Chrysostom on her right. Above the two latter are the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin forming the Annunciation. In the north, prothesis, apse Christ is depicted in the Tomb, flanked by two tetramorphs, and in the thickness of the apse are the Mother of God on the left and St John the Theologian on the right. On the wall above is the Mandylion, and to the left of the apse the Protomartyr Stephen. The Vision of Peter of Alexandria survives in the prothesis at the east end of the north wall, with the young Christ depicted in the upper right-hand section in front of an altar. In the background is a temple with towers on either side. Christ stands under a ciborium and is much smaller than St Peter. On the east wall, at the lower edge of this scene, the mouth of Hell is portrayed swallowing Arius[18]. To the right of this scene, below the representation of the dead Christ in the Tomb, is the Prophet Jonah emerging from the whale's mouth after three days in its stomach—just as Christ lay for three days in the Tomb and was resurrected. The surface below the altar apse is covered with imitation marble revetment consisting of straight squares filled with concentric squares done with zigzag lines. The same design also frames the main entrance to the catholicon. The remaining surfaces,

18. Cf. Ivanca Acrabova-Žandova, 'Videnieto na Petar Aleksandrijski v Bulgaria', *Izvestija na bulgarskija archeologicheski institut*, Sofia 1946, pp. 24-34; G. Millet, 'St. Pierre d'Alexandrie', *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, second edition, Paris 1930, p. 109.

from the Annunciation and the marble revetment, include the south, west, and north walls, up to the Vision of Peter of Alexandria, and are divided into two zones. The lower zone comprises full-length figures of saints and the upper zone the cycle of the Life of the Baptist. The saint's Nativity is on the east wall, his Naming and the Flight of Elizabeth on the south wall, and St John being led by an angel in the wilderness, the Baptist Preaching, the Killing of Zacharias, and the Accusation of Herod are in the nave. On the west wall, to the south of the door, are the Imprisonment of St John[19] and the donor's inscription. To the north of the door are the Decapitation of the Baptist and Herod's Feast. The north wall preserves only St John's Burial and the First Finding of his Head. The zone of saints comprises: the Church Fathers, Gregory the Great and Athanasius of Alexandria on the east wall; Cyril of Alexandria, Nicholas of Myra, Spyridon of Trimitunt, and James the brother of Christ on the south altar wall. On the same wall, in the have, are the Winged John the Baptist, Constantine and Helen, the hermits Anthony the Great and Sava; and on the west wall are the Archangels Michael and Gabriel to the south of the door, and Paraskevi of Epivat, Catherine, and Kyriaki to the north of the door. Of the three figures on the north wall of the have, only the military saints Nestor and Artemius are recognisable; in the altar section an unidentifiable fragment of a figure survives.

Although an independent building, the cemetery church functioned as a chapel to the catholicon with the sole purpose of serving funeral ceremonies. This fact also influenced the iconographical programme. The architectural modifications are also worth noting.

In fact, the decoration of the two churches differs not in the basic decorative principles of the Christian church in general (that is, the cosmic-hierarchical, topographical, and liturgical-chronological principles), but only in the subject-matter of the representations[20]. Thus, owing to the vault's poor visibility, it was left undecorated, and only the upper part of the prothesis and the bema symbolise the 'World Above'. The 'Holy Land' and the 'Terrestrial World' are the areas containing the cycle of St John the Baptist and the full-length saints respectively. The Virgin and Child, as the Platytera, occupy the traditional position in the altar apse—a topographical symbol of the Bethlehem cave; this and the Annunciation on either side of the apse are

19. In this scene two episodes are united: 1) two soldiers escorting John to prison, and 2) John behind bars.

20. For an interpretation of the Christian church, cf. Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London 1947.

both images of the Incarnation and Holy Communion[21]. The role of Man in the Salvation that Theotokos brings out reestablishes the sinful human nature. In their eucharistic sense, the images in the bema are connected with those in the prothesis, which topographically corresponds to Calvary[22]. The representation of Christ in the Tomb in the apse calls to mind Christ's sacrifice for the atonement of sin, and it is conceptually expanded by the Mandylion above, the sign and testimony of the reality of Christ's incarnation[23]. In the ecclesiastical and political sense, the Mandylion, which in 944 was triumphantly returned to Constantinople from Edessa, symbolises the Empire's conquest of the pagan East, and it is possible that in this particular case it serves as an expression of opposition to Ottoman domination in the Balkans[24]. The scene of Jonah emerging from the whale's mouth after his reprentance is one of the first and most widespread prefigurations of the Resurrection. Its position close to Christ in the Tomb indicates that, like Jonah, having expiated their sins through suffering and repentance, sinners will be resurrected, like Christ, to eternal life. Its proximity, furthermore, to Arius in the Mouth of Hell, expresses the belief that the Unitarians of the Middle Ages—who were commonly termed 'Arians'—were destined for Hell. The long-established iconographical formulas were used mainly to illustrate the Liturgy, but also reflect the actual issues of the time.

Although the iconographical programme used for the altar decoration was considerably shortened from the thirteenth century onwards, the frescoes around the altar of Rožen Monastery's cemetery church follow the traditional programme. A more striking difference may be observed in the second zone of the 'Holy Land', where the Christological cycle is replaced by the Life of John the Baptist. Thus, the catholicon dedicated to the Mother of God and the cemetery church dedicated to John the Baptist together form a kind of 'macrogenre' *Deesis* composition.

Positioned in chronological succession along the upper part of the walls, moving clockwise from the south-east to the north-east corner, the cycle of the Life of St John the Baptist describes a circle analogous to the annual cycle of the Church feasts. In this case, the 'cyclical' spatial conception of the

21. Suzy Dufrenne, *Mistra: Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines*, Paris 1970, p. 50.

22. N. T. Crasnoseltsev, 'O drevnih liturgicheskih tolkovanijah', *Letopis istorico-philos. obschtestva pri Imperat. novorusijskago Universiteta*, IV, Odessa 1894, pp. 178-257.

23. Nicole Thierry, 'Deux notes à propos du Mandylion', *Zograf*, 11 (1980) 17.

24. *Ibid.*

decoration takes precedence over the axial orientation of the architectural space suggested by the building's elongate plan. The scenes from the Baptist's life are also disposed on the walls in accordance with their topographical symbolism. The saint's Nativity is on the east, 'initial', wall; his Sojourn in the Desert and his services to the Christian faith are on the south wall; while the west wall bears the story of his relics and hence the epilogue to his life.

The full-length saints in the lower zone are disposed in a similar way: the liturgists are on the east wall; the patrons of the Church and the hermits are on the south wall; the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, 'custodians of the temple' are in their traditional place near the door; while the three women saints are on the west wall to the north of the door, near the gynaeceum. In each choir, the saints are disposed according to their status and festival in the Church calendar.

The cycle of John the Baptist demonstrates several iconographical peculiarities. For instance, the Nativity is isolated from the Naming Ceremony (Luke 1:60-4), which is typical of the pre-Palaeologan tradition (see Cod. Par. gr. 74[25], Cod. gr. 5, Parma, Palatina Libr.[26], the Church of St Spas (Saviour) in Nereditsa in Russia, which dates from 1197-9[27]), but also encountered in later monuments, such as the icon of St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai (N. 168, according to Sotiriou)[28]), and in the Church of St Clement in Ohrid, which dates from 1295[29]. The scene of Elizabeth and the infant John pursued by soldiers and hiding in the cave which was opened up through her prayers represents the chief part of the composition of the Massacre of the Innocents, an incident which is recounted in the Protoevangelium of James (22:1-3)[30]. In this case, the painter has selected only the scene which is directly linked with the life of the Baptist[31]. The following scene unites two episodes: the Infant John being Led by an Angel in the Wilderness and the Angel Instructing the Baptist, as one may understand from the figures' poses and gestures. We know of no other monument in which John is portrayed as an infant twice in this scene—usually the second figure is John as an adult,

25. H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIème siècle*, second edition, Paris 1980, 11. 94 b.

26. V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin 1967, fig. 244.

27. G. Babić, *Les Chapelles annexes des églises byzantines*, Paris 1969, p. 123.

28. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, Athens 1968, p. 152.

29. Babić, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

30. E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. I, Oxford 1962, p. 370.

31. In the Cappadocian churches the composition of the Massacre of the Innocents is limited to the Flight of Elizabeth, because there it is part of the Christological cycle.

in accordance with the angel's words to Zacharias at the altar (Luke 1:14-18). The literary sources for this scene are not to be found in the Synoptic Gospels but again in the Protoevangelium of James[32] and in the Apocryphal account of the life of the Baptist, which is attributed to a Bishop Serapion[33]. An account of the same episode is also to be found in the manuscript of Cadrenus, who probably used an earlier, unknown, source about the life of the Baptist[34]. The next scene, which shows the saint preaching in the wilderness to a crowd of Jews and soldiers also follows Serapion's text. The Baptist is here depicted during his most active period of preaching, and the scene is connected with the image of the Winged John the Baptist in the zone of saints directly below. The Winged Baptist illustrates the prophecy about God's messenger-angel who will come forth to prepare the way of Christ (Matt. 3-1; John 1-23), a new Prophet Elijah (Luke 1:17) who will proclaim salvation through forgiveness of sins (Luke 1:78). For the same reason that he selects only the Flight of Elizabeth from the composition of the Massacre of the Innocents, the painter omits the Baptism of Christ, despite the fact that it was one of the first scenes to be included in the cycle; it has a much greater theological, ecclesiastical, and historical significance[35], but would involve the representation of Christ with John the Baptist, which would contravene the hierarchical principle of not illustrating the Christological cycle in the cemetery church.

Of the Evangelists, only Matthew mentions, very briefly, the Killing of Zacharias (Matt. 23:35), in the incident when Christ accuses the scribes and Pharisees and makes illustrative reference to the killing of Abel and of Zacharias. A much more detailed account is to be found in the Protoevangelium of James[36], which was the source for the ever more frequent representation of

32. Hennecke, *op. cit.*, p. 387, 22.3.

33. The Apocryphal 'Life of St John the Baptist', written by the Egyptian Bishop Serapion (385-395), is preserved in Arabic in a Syrian manuscript. Cf. *Bull. John Ryland's Libr.*, 11 (1927), 439-64.

34. A. Xyngopoulos, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας*, Thessaloniki 1973, p. 34.

35. The parable of the Good Samaritan—an allegory of God's salvation of sinful humankind—helps to explain why the Communion of the Apostles and the Baptism of Christ are not represented in the cemetery church. The Good Samaritan not only saved the fallen man (i.e. mankind saved from death), but also undertook the restoration of the inn, which symbolises the Church. On his return, the Good Samaritan lost two coins, which may be interpreted as meaning that after the Second Coming of the Messiah, for which the relics of the monks are waiting, the necessity for the two sacraments of Communion and Baptism will disappear.

36. Hennecke, *op. cit.*, p. 387, 23.1-3.

the scene both in the Menology, for the feast of the prophet on 5 September[37], and in the cycle of his life (where it is sometimes included as part of the Massacre of the Innocents)[38]. Here Zacharias is depicted after his decapitation, as he is also in the Monastery of John the Baptist near Serres[39], whereas in other monuments he is usually portrayed just before the blow falls.

The Accusation of Herod, the Imprisonment of St John, and the Baptist in Prison visually echo the same scenes in the Paris Gospel, Nat. Libr., Cod. gr. 74[40], but here the last two scenes are united on account of the donor's inscription. The written sources for these scenes are the Gospel of St Mark (6:17) and St Matthew (14:3), while the account of the Decapitation of the Baptist with Salome waiting for his head, and Herod's Feast, where she is dancing with the charger over her head, is to be found in Serapion's text[41]. It is very probable that there are other sources too, which are at present unknown. The popularity of these two iconographical types is the basis for this hypothesis: the Decapitation is represented in the same way in Samaria-Sebasta[42], Dečani Monastery[43], the catholicon of Dionysiou Monastery[44], in an icon from Arbanassi from the end of the seventeenth century[45], and in another icon from Etropole from the same period[46]. Salome dancing with the head of John the Baptist replaced in the Palaeologan era the so-called 'first dance', which illustrates the Gospel text, is widely encountered in earlier monuments, and shows her simply holding the charger with the Baptist's head according to the manuscript (in Florence, Laurentian Libr., Plut. N. VI, 23, for example)[47].

37. *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Bibl. Vaticana), pl. 14.

38. For example in Cappadocian frescoes: G. de Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, vol. I, Paris 1925-28, fig. 38,3, vol. III, fig. 182; M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, vol. III, Recklinghausen 1967, p. 454; V. Petkovic, *La Peinture serbe du Moyen Âge*, vol. II, Belgrade 1934, LXXV.

39. Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, pl. 37, 41.

40. Omont, *op. cit.*, fol. 98r, pl. 52; fol. 141, pl. 79; fol. 7v, pl. 10; fol. 65r, pl. 49.

41. Cf. note 33 above.

42. J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebasta*, London 1937, pp. 36-7, pl. 16b, 16c.

43. V. Petković, *Manastir Dečani*, vol. II, Belgrade 1941, pl. CXXXL.

44. Millet, *op. cit.*, pl. 205/1.

45. L. Prashkov, *Zărcvata Rožděstvo Hristovo v Arbanassi*, Sofia 1979, p. 17.

46. T. Metakieva, 'Iconi ot Etropole', *Izkustvo*, 9 (1983) 33 (left).

47. One of the earliest cycles of John the Baptist is to be found in an Alexandrinian World Chronicle (A. Bauer and J. Strzygovski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, Vienna 1905) dating from around the beginning of the eighth century (cf. O. Kurz, 'The Date of the Alexandrinian World Chronicle', *Kunsthist. Forschungen Otto Paecht zum 70. Geburtstag*,

The burial of the Baptist's decapitated body, which is usually depicted wrapped up in white like a mummy, is portrayed with a little church in the background; this may be in Sebasta, where legend has it that John was buried[48]. The two figures carrying him are probably his disciples Andrew and John[49]. In most known representations, they are not carrying the body, but have placed it in an open sarcophagus: for instance in the Baptistery of St Mark in Venice (fourteenth century)[50], in the catholicon of Dochiariou Monastery (which was frescoed in 1568)[51], and in the Arbanassi icon bearing the cycle of John the Baptist. The last surviving scene of the cycle shows the First Finding of the Baptist's Head by two monks on Mount Eleon; it is the short formula, without the group of witnesses headed by the emperor and the bishop.

As we know, apart from its direct, literal meaning, each biblical passage also has an allegorical one, that is a typological, moral, or mystical meaning. This principle of polysemantic interpretation is preserved when the Holy Scriptures are translated into visual images. Different levels of meaning are consoquently discernible in the cycle of St John the Baptist of Rožen. Its literal, representational sense was accessible to everybody, because it was communicated in ways understood by everybody—that is, through the text of the saint's offices, through the inscriptions of the scenes, through the poses and gentures of the various figures and their attributes. But deeper semantic strata were evident only to those devoted to the religious sacraments, to those who knew how to discern them[52]. John the Baptist's intermediate position as the last Old Testament prophet and the First New Testament prophet is rich in theological significance:

1. As an Old Testament prophet, he was considered a prefiguration of Christ. The Nativity of the Baptist in the presence of Zacharias complements that of Christ with the figure of Joseph, although its compositional scheme is in fact the same as that of the Nativity of the Virgin, which is also used for other saints. John's Naming (that is his recognition by the Jews) and the Flight

Residenze Verlag, p. 1722). One can still discern Salome dancing with John's head, but she is not by Herod's table as in our example.

48. Cabrol-Leclerque, DACL, p. 2167.

49. N. Brkić, *Technologia slikarstva, vajarstva i ikonografija*, Belgrade 1968, p. 382.

50. C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, second edition, Paris 1925-26, p. 805, pl. 399.

51. Millet, *op. cit.*, pl. 240/2.

52. The method of double allegorisation is based on Plato's psychological theory about the triple nature of the human being: body, spirit, and soul. The literary sense corresponds to the body, the moral sense to the soul, and the mystic sense to the spirit.

of Elizabeth (that is his persecution by Herod since his birth) correspond to the Circumcision of Christ and the Flight into Egypt respectively. Other shared motifs are John's Sojourn in the Desert and his Preaching to the Jews. Herod's command that John be first imprisoned and then decapitated closely echoes the Judgement of Pilate; John's imprisonment echoes the Way to Calvary, and his imprisonment and decapitation the Crucifixion.

2. As a New Testament figure, John corresponde to the Prophet Elijah (Luke 1:17). He is frequently portrayed with a mantle similar to the one Elijah left to Elisha; and just as an angel woke Elijah by the cave to feed him, so an angel took care of John in the desert.

3. As a hermit and ascetic, John the Baptist served as a moral example to the monks.

4. His depiction with wings reflects his mystical inclusion among the ranks of the angels.

The fact that Rožen Monastery was a dependency of Iviron Monastery and hence imitated its arrangement and decoration does not allow us to draw any further significant conclusions about the group of monuments to which the cemetery church belongs. The frescoes in the Chapel of St John the Baptist at Iviron date from the eighteenth century and differ radically in content and style from those in Rožen's cemetery church. There is just one representation in Iviron's catholicon that gives a strong visual reminder of the Baptist in the cemetery church and this is the Winged Baptist, which dates probably from the seventeenth century[53]. Their stylistic features connect the wall-paintings most closely with those on the façade of Rožen's catholicon. The volumes of the faces have been treated with less detail, but remain graceful, and are brought out by delicate shading, while the clothes are more linear and stylised. The proportions of the figures are natural and the draperies fall without unnecessary folds. The architectural backgrounds consist of the same architectural elements, grouped in various ways in different scenes to suggest a variety of buildings. Of particular interest is the ornamentation on their façades, as also that on Elizabeth's badspread in the representation of the Nativity, and again on the clothes of the liturgists, Constantine and Helen, Kyriaki, and Artemius. These designs are to be seen in embroideries made in Wallachia for Church rituals in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and also in the clothing in various frescoes: the donors in the narthex of the Church of the Mother of God at Bachkovo (1643), the patriarchs on the north wall of the gynaeceum of the Church of the Nativity of Christ in Arbanassi (seven-

53. A. Masseron, *Saint Jean Baptiste dans l'art*, Paris 1957, pl. 2.

teenth century), and the figures in the catholicons of Docheiariou and Dionysiou Monasteries[54]. It is complicated to explain the origin of these motifs and how they came to Rožen, but their mere presence here is a sign of the profound modification in the thinking of medieval man which came about with great force during the Renaissance. This is why the frescoes in the cemetery church have an exceptional cultural and historical value: they make it possible easily to follow the transition of figurative conception from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Here the entire treatment of the volumes, the linear stylisation, and the Baroque ornamentation are connected. If the responsibility for the well-thoughtout symbolism of the decorative scheme belongs primarily to the church's donor, Abbot (or Hegumen) Theodosius, the talent of the painter deserves no less attention, for he achieved a satisfactory compromise between the severe requirements of the canon and the exigencies of the period, particularly in the case of this little cemetery church[55]. He also demonstrates a sound sense of phychological nuance and explanatory detail, though to a degree consonant with the norms of medieval convention and restraint: there is no forced emotion in the poses and gestures. These characteristics keep his art within the limits of the medieval tradition, notwithstanding the spatial and representational experimentation evident in some of the compositions[56]. Their essence brings to mind trends in contemporary western art.

No less interesting is the wall-paintings' ideological significance when they are set against the background of the social, ecclesiastical, and political problems of their time. After it fell to the Ottomans, the area around Melnik continued to be a crossroads of material cultural and spiritual influences. Other important centres in the Balkans were Mount Athos, Thessaloniki, Constantinople, and later on Romania. As we know, Rožen Monastery had a scriptorium, in which monks from Bachkovo were taught; which gives us reason to suppose that active relations existed between the two monasteries for ecclesiastical, political, and cultural purposes, chiefly in the struggle against the infidel, in which the monks' nationality was not important. They resisted the Muslims through their devotion to Christian doctrine, which was the only

54. *Istoria artelor plastice in Romania*, vol. II, Bucharest 1970, fig. 58, 220, 224; S. Kisiov, *Bachkovski manastir*, Sofia 1983, pp. 59, 60; L. Prashkov, *op. cit.*, fig. 95, 99, 155; Millet, *op. cit.*, pl. 204/1, 254/3—representations of Romanian donors.

55. It should be noted that the decorative features which first attract one's attention do not contradict the purpose of the cemetery church, but accord with Christians' optimistic faith in the Second Coming of the Messiah and the Resurrection.

56. The quest for depth and perspective is most evident in the Naming of John and Herod's Feast. The compositional centre of both these scenes is a table.

way to assure themselves of God's help. It is precisely in this context that we should interpret the great representation of Jacob's Ladder on the façade of Rožen's catholicon, dating from 1611, as also the exterior decoration of many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Wallachian and Moldavian churches. Rožen Monastery's cemetery church dedicated to St John the Baptist and its catholicon dedicated to the Mother of God together constituted a monumental *Deesis* composition, through which the monks expected their prayers to be heard better.

The representation of the cycle of St John the Baptist obviously had a particular ecclesiastical and political purpose[57], namely to illustrate the saint's part in man's salvation through his portrayal in the Anastasis composition. The figures of hermits and Christian martyrs who accompany him are also encountered in the decoration of the earliest monastery cemetery churches. Here their traditional and devotional purpose is to place the seal of approval upon the authority of monasticism through the most noted individuals in its long history, whose services to Christianity are compared here with those of Christ's Baptist and Precursor, John, and of Emperor Constantine, who made the Christian faith the religion of the Byzantine Empire. So, without abandoning the doctrinal and canonical character of Orthodox art, the artists who decorated Rožen's cemetery church preserved the position of monasticism in the ecclesiastical hierarchy through the inclusion of certain specific themes in the entire architectural and decorative ensemble. Their basic purpose was to demonstrate the eternality of the Christian religion; the part played by monks in its survival and spread; and the moral and spiritual virtues of the Baptist—Christ's *angelos,* who, as the first hermit and ideal role-model for the monks, through his prayers showed his listeners the way to salvation.

57. According to Gordana Babić, after the end of the thirteenth century, when the liturgical cycle was properly developed, the differences in the pictorial decoration of the nave and the chapels of Balkan churches gradually disappeared (Babić, *op. cit.*, p. 134).

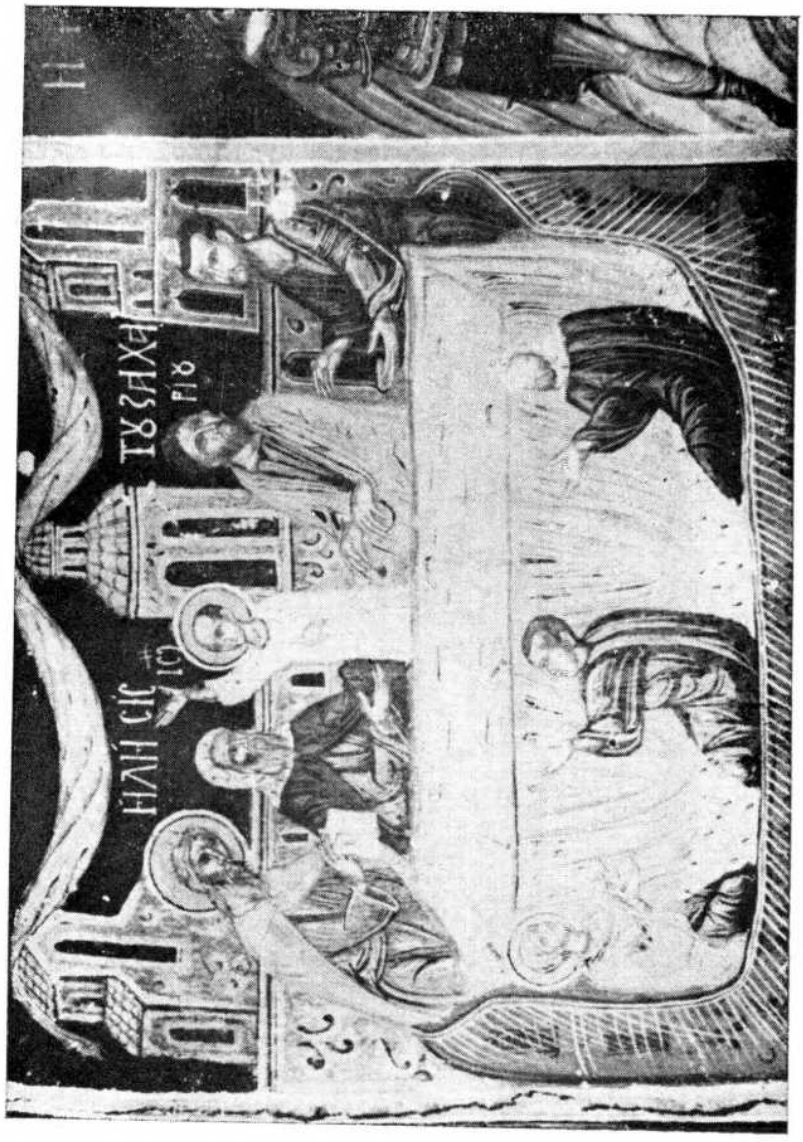
*Pl. 1. The south wall of the bema: the Naming of John; the Flight of Elizabeth; Saints.*

*Pl. 2. South wall: Saints.*

*Pl. 3. The Imprisonment of John the Baptist.*

*Pl. 4. The Nativity of St John the Baptist.*

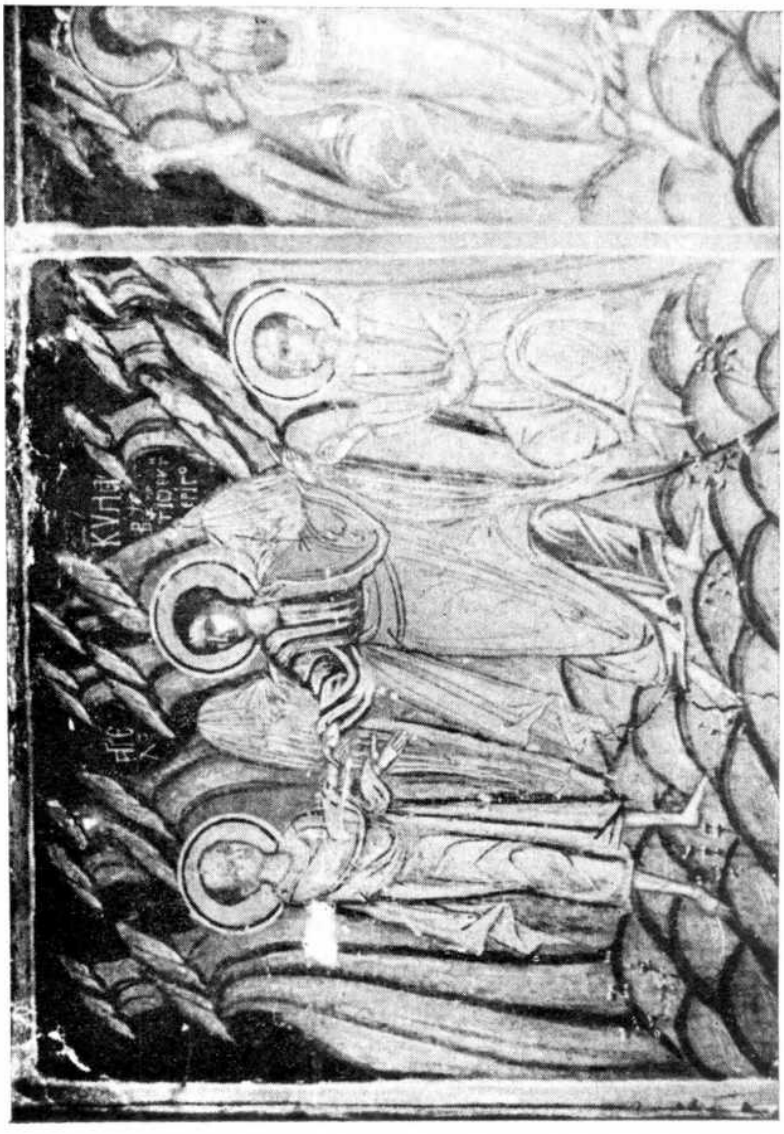
*Pl. 5. Arius and Jonah.*



Pl. 6. The Naming of John.

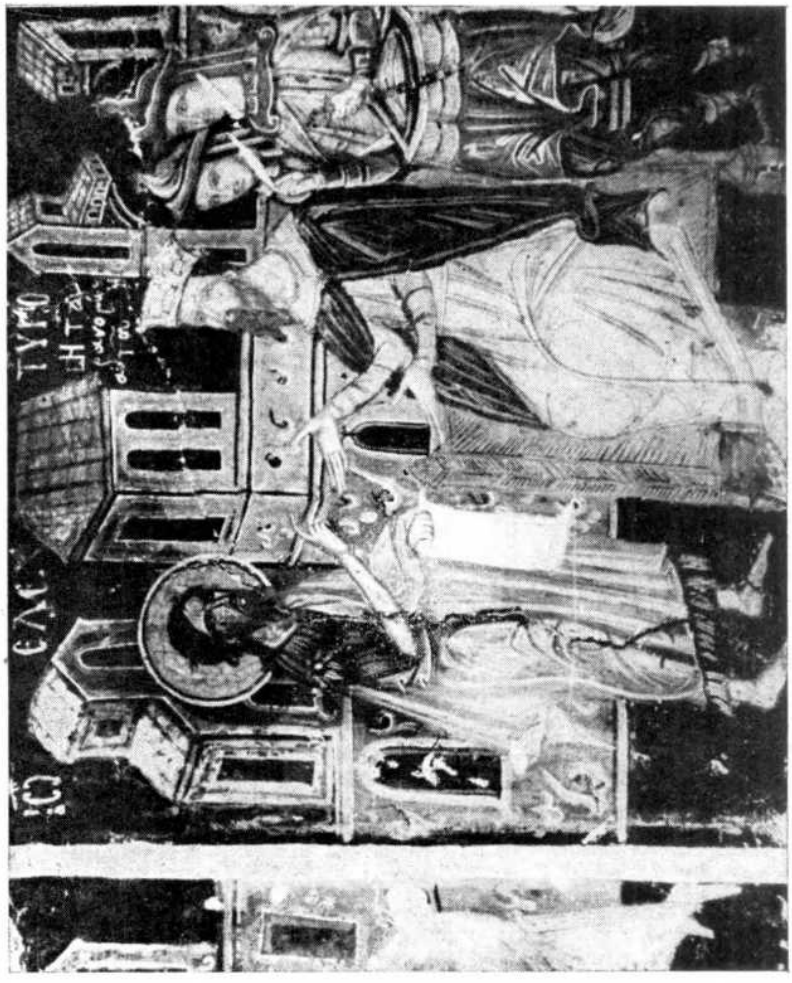
*Pl. 7. The Decapitation of the Baptist and Herod's Feast.*

*Pl. 8. The Virgin and Child (Platytera) flanked by the Annunciation.*

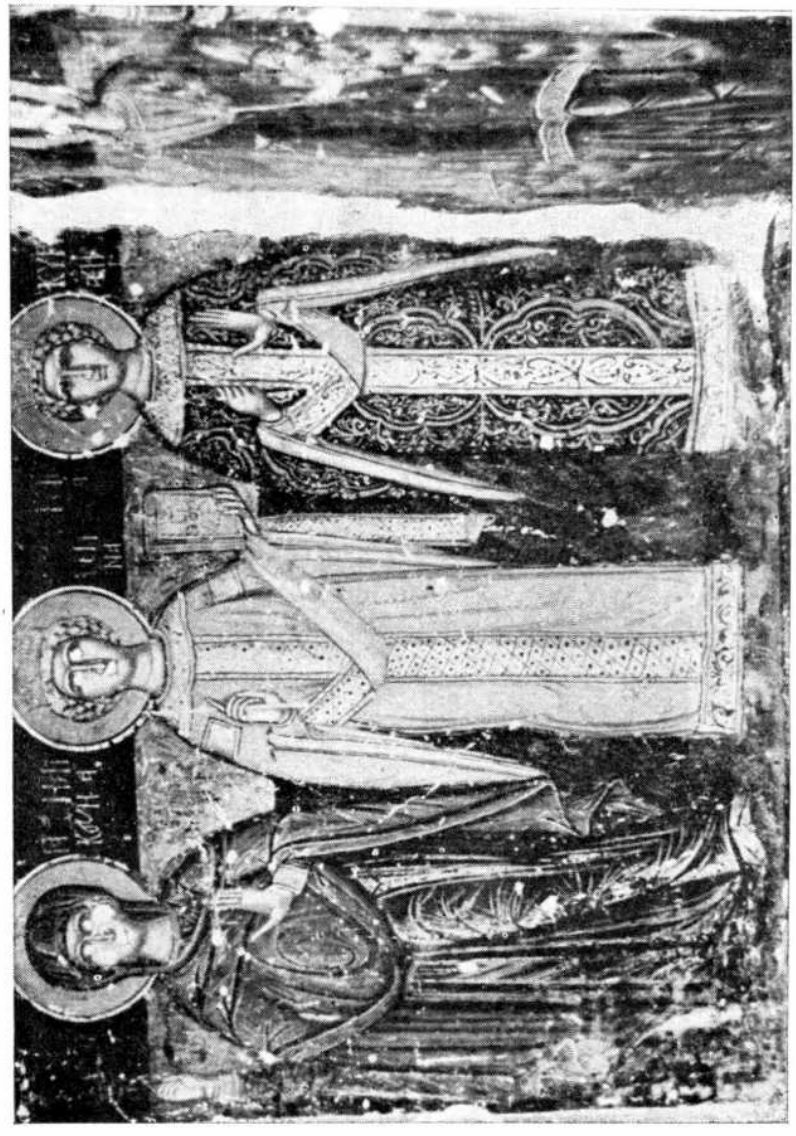


*Pl. 9. The Angel Guilding St John in the Wilderness.*

*Pl. 10. Donor's inscription.*



*Pl. 11. The Accusation of Herod.*



*Pl. 12. The three female saints on the west wall.*

*HENRI TAPAREL*

# NOTES SUR QUELQUES REFUGIES BYZANTINS EN BOURGOGNE APRES LA CHUTE DE CONSTANTINOPLE

La chute de Constantinople aux mains de Mehmed II le 29 mai 1453 allait s'accompagner d'une nouvelle vague de migration des Grecs vaincus vers l'Europe occidentale. Fuyant le conquérant turc, nombreux furent les Byzantins qui cherchèrent alors refuge dans les états occidentaux où ils pensaient pouvoir préserver une culture et une religion menacées de disparaître dans une Grèce maintenant totalement dominée par les Ottomans. Plusieurs diplomates et religieux prirent ainsi le chemin de l'exil au lendemain même de la chute de la capitale byzantine. Nombre d'entre eux d'ailleurs n'avaient pas attendu l'ultime défaite pour gagner l'Occident et tenter de s'y faire une situation confortable[1].

L'émigration grecque ne s'est pas faite en effet par un courant soutenu et régulier mais par vagues successives depuis le dernier quart du XIVe siècle au gré des conquêtes ottomanes[2]. De tous les états occidentaux, les états italiens furent certainement les plus touchés par cet exode. L'Italie et plus particulièrement Venise était depuis toujours un débouché naturel pour les Grecs, qui pour la plupart gagnaient l'Occident par la voie maritime. C'était en effet pour eux la région la plus proche géographiquement et celle où ils avaient le plus d'attaches historiques.

Cette attraction s'était renforcée depuis l'accueil favorable fait aux Byzantins à l'époque du concile de Florence en 1438-1439, et par le réveil de l'intérêt porté aux "lettres grecques". Ces possibilités d'accueil favorisèrent donc l'implantation de nombreuses communautés de réfugiés grecs sur le sol italien, communautés au sein desquelles s'intégraient toutes les couches sociales de la société byzantine. Parmi les plus importantes citons celles de Venise, Naples, Ancône et Florence où purent se maintenir les fondements de la culture hellénistique et une certaine permanence des formes byzantines[3].

1. Marinesco C., *Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs byzantins en Occident à la veille de la chute de Constantinople*, in Mélanges H. Grégoire, II, 1950, p. 419-428.

2. Geanakoplos D. J., *Interaction of the "sibling" Byzantine and Western cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)*, West-Haven-Londres, 1976, p. 175.

3. Iorga N., *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucarest, 1935; Geanakoplos, *op. cit.*, p. 176-193.

A mesure cependant que l'on s'éloigne géographiquement de Constantinople, plus isolés et moins nombreux deviennent les émigrés grecs. Ainsi le royaume de France dont les relations politiques et commerciales avec l'Empire Byzantin étaient depuis toujours des plus réduites n'accueillit que peu d'exilés même si l'on peut noter la formation tardive à l'extrême fin du XVe siècle de communautés grecques dans les villes de Lyon et Paris[4].

La Bourgogne valoise se trouvait dans une situation à peu près identique à celle du royaume de France. Toutefois quelques mois seulement après la chute de Constantinople les sujets de Philippe le Bon virent arriver eux aussi sur leurs terres quelques vaincus de 1453[5]. Attirés par la réputation de bienveillance et de générosité attachée à la personne du Grand Duc d'Occident, certains réfugiés grecs vinrent ainsi tenter leur chance en Bourgogne. Grâce notamment aux registres de la recette générale des finances du duc, où sont annotés les divers dons faits par Philippe le Bon, on retrouve quelques traces du passage de ces individus originaires de Grèce dans les états bourguignons.

Les noms de ces Grecs ont malheureusement été tellement estropiés par les scribes ducaux qu'il est le plus souvent malaisé de s'y retrouver et qu'on ne réussit que rarement à deviner avec certitude de qui il peut s'agir. La plupart du temps d'ailleurs ces exilés ne sont cités qu'anonymement. Ainsi ces "*cinq gentilshommes de la cité de Constantinople*"[6] ou ces "*trois chevaliers de Grèce*"[7] qui reçoivent du duc de Bourgogne "*en don et en ausmones*" des sommes de diverses importances pour "*eulx aidier a desfraier de leurs despens et a vivre en passant leur chemin*" d'avril 1454 à octobre 1455.

Quand les heureux bénéficiaires de la générosité ducale sont cités nommément, il est, comme on l'a dit précédemment, très difficile de retrouver la forme originale des noms tant sont incomplets les patronymes. Qui étaient ce Culart de Gresse[8] qualifié seulement de "*pauvre homme*"; ces Nicolas Yory et Senas Gevor[9]; ces Dunty Carsafry[10], Ange Boetius[11] et Jehan Miles[12];

4. Geanakoplos D. J., *Byzantine East and Latin West*, Oxford, 1966, p. 153-157; on trouvera quelques renseignements sur la communauté grecque de Lyon dans Rudier P., *The romance of the French Weaving*, New York, 1931, p. 172-175.

5. Lacaze Y., *Politique méditerranéenne et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade (mai 1453-juillet 1456)*, in Annales de Bourgogne, I, 1969, p. 10-12.

6. *Archives Départementales du Nord* (abregées par la suite: *ADN*). B 2017, fol. 238 v°.

7. *ADN*, B. 2020, fol. 351 v°.

8. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 351 r°.

9. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 355 r°.

10. *ADN*, B 2020. fol. 356 r°.

11. Inventaire sommaire des *Archives Départementales du Nord* antérieures à 1790. Série B, Tome I, p. 78, col. II.

ce Manuel Egal de Constantinople[13] au sujet desquels la seule indication qui nous soit fournie est leur qualificatif de grec? Nous ne le saurons certainement jamais! Quelques noms ont cependant réussi à échapper au massacre involontaire des employés de la chancellerie bourguignonne. Ainsi pour Vasilico Duca, c'est-à-dire Basilikos Dukas[14] et Nicolas de Tartanoty, soit Nicolas Tarchaneiotes[15] dont les patronymes originaux n'ont pas trop été altérés.

Sur tous ces anonymes ou presque les registres des finances ducales ne nous apprennent rien ou pratiquement rien, sinon que parmi tant d'autres ils avaient réussi à un certain moment à se faire présenter au Grand Duc d'Occident, ou tout au moins à suffisamment attirer son attention sur leurs cas pour en tirer un profit quelconque leur permettant de reprendre haleine et de subsister quelques temps pendant leur exode.

Là où les scribes ducaux sont le plus prolixe, c'est sur ces aventuriers, plus malins ou plus entreprenants que les autres, qui se rattachant arbitrairement à la famille impériale ou même s'affublant carrément du patronyme des Paléologue abusèrent de la générosité et surtout de la crédulité ducale. Ainsi cet Alexis comte de Salubria[16], qualifié de "*grant connestable de Constantinople*", donc en principe parent de la famille impériale à qui cette charge était réservée, qui reçoit du duc Philippe 120 livres pour retourner dans son pays[17].

Qui était réellement ce Michel Palalogo "*seigneur du chasteau de Soudoires ou pays de Constantinople*" arrêté en Flandre alors qu'il quêtait pour le rachat de sa famille captive des Turcs[18]. Que penser encore de cet Isaac Paleologhus qui se faisant passer pour un proche parent du défunt empereur Constantin XI reçoit du duc la somme de 60 livres "*quant il est nagueres venu devers lui en sa ville de Saint-Omer et lui apporter aucunes nouvelles dudit pais touchant l'estat et conduicte des chrestiens a l'encontre des infideles et mescreans de la saincte foy chrestienne*"[19]. Ce dernier semble avoir fait grand effet à la cour ducale puisqu'on le voit faire partie, en compagnie de son fils Alexandre, de la suite qui accompagne Philippe le Bon au sacre du dauphin Louis à Reims[20]. Citons encore ce Manuel Paluole lui aussi "*chevalier de*

12. *ADN*, B 2034, fol. 193 v°.
13. *ADN*, B 2017, fol. 237 v°.
14. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 356 v°: il lui est accordé un don de XII livres, ainsi qu'à Dunty Carsafry, pour "*eulx retourner vers leurs marches*".
15. *ADN*, B 2034, fol. 193 v°: Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
16. Selymbria, actuellement Silivri en Turquie d'Europe.
17. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 346 v°.
18. *ADN*, B 855, no 27, 231.
19. *ADN*, B 2040, fol. 241 v°, 242 r°.
20. Vaughan R., *Philip the Good*, Londres, 1970, p. 367.

*Constantinople*" qu'il ne faut point confondre avec son homonyme Manuel Ange Paléologue qui brisa le siège de Constantinople pour venir acheter du blé en Italie et qui se présenta vêtu de deuil accompagné de Constantin Cantacuzène Paléologue, neveu de l'empereur Jean VIII, et d'Angelo Disipatro devant la cour d'Alfonse V d'Aragon au lendemain de l'annonce de la chute de Byzance[21]. Il pourrait s'agir peut-être de cet Emmanuel Paléologue, cité par Du Cange comme simple soldat ayant rejoint le royaume de France où il reçut quelques subsides de Charles VII[22]. Peu, sinon aucun d'entre eux ne se rattachait de près ou de loin à la famille de l'empereur défunt. Mais il est vrai que de nombreuses années après la chute de la capitale byzantine le nom des Paléologue ouvrait encore en Occident certaines portes dont on pouvait espérer tirer profit.

D'autres émigrés balkaniques en dehors des chevaliers grecs profitèrent après 1453 de leur passage en terres bourguignonnes pour y bénéficier eux aussi des largesses ducales. Citons par exemple ces "*trois gentilshommes de la province dalbanie*" qui recoivent en juillet 1455 des subsides de Philippe le Bon[23], tout comme les dénommés Jehan Gerache[24], c'est-à-dire Dragach équivalent serbe de Dragases, et Georges d'Armeigne (d'Arménie?)[25]. Les représentants du clergé orthodoxe, eux aussi en fuite devant l'oppresseur turc, étaient bien accueillis en Bourgogne, tel ce Damp Anthoine "*abbé de Saincte Maire de Sagitane au royaulme de Constantinople*" qui bénéficie d'un don de 24 livres en août 1455[26].

Ces exilés s'éparpillent sur l'ensemble des états ducaux. On en trouve aussi bien au nord en Hainaut, Brabant, Flandre et Artois que plus au sud en Nivernais ou dans le Duché. Le plus souvent il semble qu'ils privilégient les lieux de séjour de la cour ducale: Bruxelles, Lille, Dijon, suivant celle-ci dans ses nombreux déplacements. Certains même n'hésitent pas à poursuivre le duc lors de ses voyages en terre étrangère: ainsi "*huit gentilshommes de*

21. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 355 v°; Papadrianos J., *Manuel Paléologue, ambassadeur de Byzance en Serbie en 1451*, in Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky, II, Belgrade, 1964, p. 311-315; Marinesco, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

22. Du Cange, *Historia byzantina duplici commentario illustrata*. Paris 1860, Ière partie, *De familiis byzantinis*, p. 254-255.

23. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 344 v°.

24. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 354 v°.

25. *ADN*, B 2020, fol. 346 v°: peut-être s'agit-il de la même personne que ce George Ducas Arménis exilé au lendemain de la chute de Constantinople: Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 5.

26. Lacaze, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

*grece*" reçoivent le 11 avril 1454 quelque argent de Philippe le Bon alors en route pour Ratisbonne[27].

Autres centres privilégiés: les grandes villes commerçantes comme le port de Bruges. On constate en effet à la lecture des comptes de cette ville pour les années 1454 à 1461 l'apparition de nombreuses citations de personnes le plus souvent anonymes, originaires de Constantinople ou de ses environs[28]. Il est vrai qu'il existait déjà dans cette ville depuis l'époque du règne de Jean sans Peur un petit noyau de commerçants grecs en relation avec la capitale byzantine: ceci ne pouvait qu'encourager certains exilés, surtout ceux déjà versés dans le commerce, à venir s'y installer profitant d'une structure d'accueil préexistante[29].

Pour la plupart tels Démétrius Paléologue, Manuel Chrysoloras et Jean Argyropoulos qui réfugiés en Angleterre avaient certainement traversé auparavant les possessions ducales, "l'étape bourguignonne" n'était qu'une simple halte[30]. Rares en effet furent ceux qui se fixèrent définitivement ou même temporairement sur les terres du duc Philippe, le plus grand nombre n'étant là qu'attiré par sa réputation de générosité.

Un autre facteur dut certainement jouer pour pousser en Bourgogne, si loin de leur pays d'origine quelques-uns de ces réfugiés: la réputation de protecteur des chrétiens d'Orient dont était auréolée la personne du Grand Duc d'Occident depuis son intervention contre les Turcs en 1444[31], et le voeu de croisade qu'il avait prononcé en grande pompe lors du Banquet du Faisan à Lille en février 1454. N'était-il pas facile pour ces "chevaliers de Constantinople" de se présenter à la cour bourguignonne comme porteurs des dernières nouvelles d'Orient, dont on savait le duc friand, afin d'attirer sur eux la bienveillance ducale et les profits que cela laissait supposer?

Ces profits, la plupart du temps modestes, devaient permettre à ces exilés de subvenir pour quelques temps à leurs besoins immédiats et à continuer leur route d'exil. Trois expressions reviennent d'ailleurs sans cesse à la lecture des registres des finances ducales, *"pour eulx aidier a passer leur chemin"*, *"pour eulx aidier a vivre"* et *"pour eulx aidier a desfraier"*, qui montrent bien

27. *ADN*, B 2017, fol. 267 r°; De même quatre autres à son retour le 8 juillet: fol. 287 vo.

28. Van den Bussche E., *Une question d'orient au Moyen-Age, Documents inédits et notes pour servir à l'histoire du commerce de la Flandre, particulièrement de la ville de Bruges avec le Levant*, Bruges, 1878, p. 28.

29. Van den Bussche, *op. cit.*, p. 22 et 35.

30. Marinesco, *op. cit.*, p. 422, n. 3.

31. Taparel H., *Un épisode de la politique orientale de Philippe le Bon: les bourguignons en mer Noire (1444-1446)*, in Annales de Bourgogne, 1983, T LV, p. 5-29.

l'utilisation faite des dons accordés par le duc de Bourgogne. Certains, pour survivre en arrivaient même à commettre des délits, tel ce Manuel Théodore de Constantinople condamné au bûcher par les habitants de la ville de Douai pour des délits divers[32].

Quelques-uns quémandaient en vue de recueillir les sommes nécessaires à leur rachat ou à celui des membres de leur famille prisonniers des Ottomans, tel ce Georges Palaeloghus à qui la municipalité de Tournai verse *"pour l'honneur de la saincte foi chrétienne"* une somme de 6 livres comme contribution à sa rançon de 30.000 ducats[33]. Dans la même situation le prétendu parent de l'empereur, Isaac Paléologue, qui reçoit 60 livres *"pour lui aidier a racheter deux de ses enfants qu'ilz detiennent prisonniers"*[34]. Certains même n'hésitaient pas, pour attirer davantage l'attention sur eux et apitoyer les gens, à porter au pied une chaîne évoquant la situation dans laquelle se trouvaient leurs proches[35]: tels Dimitrius Bithardus et Thomas Partis dont les *"femmes et enfans este pris prisonniers"*[36]. La plupart cependant profitèrent des subsides ducaux pour poursuivre leur route et tenter de *"retourner vers leurs marches"*: c'est le cas de Vasilico Duca, Dunty Carsafry qui reçoivent de l'argent dans ce but.

Tous ces réfugiés balkaniques n'étaient donc généralement que de passage dans les pays bourguignons. Il n'est en effet fait nulle part mention dans des documents d'archives d'une quelconque communauté d'exilés grecs qui se seraient installés au lendemain de la prise de la capitale byzantine dans les possessions de Philippe le Bon. Cependant les registres de la recette générale des finances ducales relèvent quelques cas, très rares, de réfugiés d'origine grecque qui s'établirent temporairement ou même définitivement sur les terres du duc de Bourgogne au lendemain du désastre de 1453. Quelques opportunistes profitèrent de leur passage pour mettre leur talent au service du duc. Ainsi ce George, grec, *"archier dicelui seigneur"* qui reçoit en 1457 quatre-vingts livres pour trois ans passés dans l'hôtel ducal *"pour lui desfraier de ladite ville de Lille et retourner es pais de grece dont il est"*[37]. De même cet Anthoine de Trapezonde employé lui aussi au service du duc de 1469 à

32. Lacaze, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 3.

33. *Extraits analytiques des anciens registres des consaux de la ville de Tournai*, Ed. A. de la Grange, Mémoires de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai, XXIII, Tournai, 1893: Années 1431-1476, 246.

34. Inventaire sommaire des *ADN*, Série B, Tome IV, p. 211, col. II.

35. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

36. Marinesco, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

37. *ADN*, B 2017, fol. 235 r°.

1473 et défrayé à ce titre par Charles le Téméraire[38].

Certains arrivent à accéder à de hautes fonctions dans la maison ducale: c'est le cas de ce Michel Allighieri, "*chevalier du pays de Trappisonde*" arrivé à Bruxelles en mai-juin 1461 avec la grande ambassade conduite par Ludovic de Bologne. Ce chevalier, en fait un marchand, portait à Philippe le Bon une lettre de l'empereur David le sollicitant de lutter contre l'expannsionisme turc[39]. Resté en Bourgogne après le départ de l'ambassade Michel Allighieri deviendra conseiller et chambellan de Philippe le Bon, puis sera confirmé dans ces fonctions par Charles le Téméraire[40]. Ces situations ne sont d'ailleurs pas spécifiques à la Bourgogne valoise: on trouve en effet un cas similaire à la même époque à la cour de France avec un Georges Paléologue, cité comme chambellan du roi, qui deviendra en 1475 commandant des nefs royales[41].

D'autres comme les Lascaris, dont le patronyme se transforme sous la plume des scribes ducaux en Nachary, Loscart ou Loschaert s'intègrent au tissu social bourguignon[42]. Cette famille apparait en 1454 dans les registres de la recette générale des finances comme fournissant l'hôtel ducal en de multiples occasions et notamment lors des fêtes du Banquet du Faisan à Lille par l'intermédiaire d'un certain Anthoine Loscart, "*marchand grossier de Bruges*"[43]. Ces Lascaris faisaient-ils partie de la petite communauté de commerçants byzantins installés dans ce port dès l'époque de Jean sans Peur ou venaient-ils d'arriver dans les derniers mois de l'année 1453. Leur position sociale comme fournisseur de la maison ducale nous inciterait à pencher pour la première solution. Rien de surprenant donc, dans ce cas, si cette famille accueille dans le courant de l'année 1454 l'un de ces parents exilé Michiel Loschaert, "*ruddre van Constantinople*" déclaré comme habitant du grand port flamand à partir de cette époque[44]. Ces Lascaris de Bruges étaient-ils parents des illustres savants Constantin Lascaris, qui enseigna la grammaire entre 1460 et 1470 à Milan, et Janus Lascaris, fournisseur de manuscrits grecs

38. *ADN*, B 3433.

39. Richard J., *Louis de Bologne, patriarche d'Antioche, et la politique bourguignonne envers les états de Méditerranée orientale*, in Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Burgondo-Médianes, 20, Bâle, 1980, p. 63-69.

40. *ADN*, B 2080, n° 65 621 et B 2074, n° 65 319: certificats des services passés par Michel Allighieri en l'hôtel ducal par le Bâtard Anthoine en juin 1466 et Pierre de Bourbon en avril 1469.

41. Marinesco, *op. cit.*, p. 425-426.

42. Lacaze, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 4; Marinesco, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

43. *ADN*, B 2017, fol 22 v° et 32 r°.

44. Van den Bussche, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 38.

pour Laurent de Médicis, qui créa à Rome à l'initiative de Léon X une école pour les enfants de nobles grecs[45]? Ou bien encore de cet Athanase Lascaris, seigneur des îles Skopélos et Skiathos, représentant du despote Démétrius Paléologue au concile de Florence et à la cour d'Alfonse V de Naples[46]. Il est difficile de le préciser. Bornonnous seulement à constater la réussite de cette famille grecque fixée à Bruges et s'enrichissant dans le commerce des épices.

Sur tous ces réfugiés de la catastrophe de 1453, sortis de l'oubli grâce aux registres bourguignons, on ne connaît donc que très peu de choses. Il est toutefois intéressant de voir qu'au lendemain de la chute de la capitale byzantine, quelques exilés choisirent de prendre le chemin des états de Philippe le Bon, attirés par sa réputation, pour tenter d'y recommencer une vie ou plus simplement d'y survivre temporairement en attendant l'hypothétique croisade qui libèrerait leur patrie. Le Grand Duc d'Occident n'hésita jamais comme on l'a vu à remplir quand il le put ses obligations morales de chrétien, même quand on trompait sciemment sa bonne foi. Tous ces réfugiés lors de leur présentation au duc ne devaient pas manquer d'évoquer les souvenirs de leur patrie perdue et les malheurs qu'enduraient sous le joug ottoman leurs familles captives. Ces récits ne pouvaient que contribuer à aiguiser chez Philippe le Bon, qui ne l'oublions pas restait en Occident l'un des derniers piliers de la croisade[47], le "*christiane fidei fortissimus athleta et intrepidus pugil contra turpissimos hostes*", l'intérêt pour les chrétiens d'Orient à un moment où même en Bourgogne valoise la flamme de la croisade commence elle aussi à vaciller.

45. Marinesco C., *L'enseignement du grec dans l'Italie méridionale avant 1453, d'après un document inédit*, in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1948.

46. Marinesco C., *Notes sur...*, p. 420.

47. Richard J., *La croisade bourguignonne dans la politique européenne*, in Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Burgondo Médianes, 10, 1968, p. 41-44.

*MIROSLAV VUKELIĆ*

# EIN BRIEF DES JOSEPOS MOESIODAX AUS DEM JAHRE 1760.

Sein vor kurzem herausgegebenes Buch uber das Leben und Werk des Josepos Moesiodax begann Pashalis Kitromilidis mit den Worten, Moesiodax sei die grosse Unbekannte der neueren griechischen Kultur[1]. Und in der Tat ist es in der neueren Geschichte sudostlichen Europas beispiellos, dass eine Personlichkeit so viele Werke hinterliess, dass aber gleichzeitig so wenige biographische Angaben uber sie uberliefert sind. Hatte nicht Rigas Phereos in seiner Karte Černa Voda als Geburtsort des Moesiodax angegeben, so hatten wir etwas Naheres uber seine Herkunft schon aus seinem Namen erfahren konnen. Die erste Halfte seines Lebens wird zwar lange, wenn nicht für immer den Forschern verborgen bleiben. Keine einzige Angabe steht uns zur Verfugung ausser solchen, die er uns, vor allem in seiner *Apologie*, vorbringt. Um so grosser war die Uberraschung, als wir im Archiv des Patriarchats der Serbischen Orthodoxen Kirche in Sremski Karlovci einen Brief von Moesiodax gefunden haben[2]. Aus dem Inhalt des Briefes geht hervor, dass er das Oberhaupt der Serbischen Orthodoxen Kirche um die Erlaubnis ersucht hatte, sich an griechische κομπανίες (Handelsgesellschaften) wenden zu durfen, ihm bei der Herausgabe seiner Ubersetzung der *Moralischen Philosophie* aus der italienischen Sprache finanzielle Hilfe zu leisten. Dieser Brief bestatigt, dass sich der Wirkungskreis von Moesiodax auch auf das unter der Jurisdiktion des serbischen Erzbistums von Karlovci liegende Gebiet erstreckte, und fullt nur zum Teil die grosse Lucke auf, die im Leben und Werk von Moesiodax besteht. Das Schreiben selbst enthalt weder ein Datum noch eine Zeitangabe, es ist jedoch aus dem begleitenden Kanzleidokument zu ersehen, dass es am 10. April 1760 empfangen wurde. Ob seinem Gesuch stattgegeben wurde, wissen wir nicht, aber seine Ubersetzung der *Moralischen Philosophie* von Ludovico Antonio Muratori erschien schon im darauf folgenden Jahr in Venedig.

1. Πασχάλη Μ. Κιτρομηλίδη, *Ἰώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ*, Ἀθήνα 1985.

2. Im Archiv des Patriarchats der Serbischen Kirche in Sremski Karlovci, das heute zur Serbischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Kunste gehort, befinden sich unserer Kenntnis nach neben diesem weitere 42 Documente in griechischer Sprache.

*Εὐμενέστατε καὶ Πανίερε Ἐξοχότης*

*Μὲ τὸ παρόνμου ὑποκλιτικὸν ἀναφέρω δουλικῶς εἰς τὴν Ἐξοχωτάτην Πανιερότητάν(ντης, // ὅτι ἐγώ, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσα, καὶ ἀκούω τόσον τοὺς θείους, ὅσον καὶ τοὺς φυσικοὺς νόμους, ἁπλῶς // νὰ ὑποχρεώνουν κάθε ἄν[θρωπ]ον, ὁποῦ ὄχι μόνον ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πλησίον νὰ ὠ-// φελῇ, διὰ τοῦτο, ἀφ' οὗ μὲ τὰ διάφορα Γυμνάσια, Ἀκαδημίας, καὶ ἰδιαιτέρας μελέτας // ἐκαλλιέργησα τὸν νοῦν μου, ἐν τῷ ἅμα ἐπεχείρησα, καθὼς προστάσσει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, νὰ // πολλαπλασιάσω τὸ Τάλαντον, Καὶ καθ' ὅσον δύναμαι, νὰ Συνεισφέρω εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν, // φωτισμόν, καὶ γνῶσιν τῶν Συναδελφῶνμου καὶ ὁμογενῶν Συνδούλων. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος, μὲ // τὸν ὁποῖον ἐγὼ ἀγωνίζομαι νὰ προοιμιάσω τὸ ἀπαραίτητον χρέος μου, δὲν εἶναι, παρὰ // μία μετάφρασις, μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν μεταφέρω ἀπὸ τὸ Ἰταλικὸν ἰδίωμα εἰς τὸ ἁπλούστερον τῶν // τωρινῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἕνα βιβλίον, ὁποῦ ἐπιγράφεται, Ἠθικὴ φι[λοσο]φία, μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Συγ-//γραφεὺς ἐξετάζει κατὰ ἐπαγγελίαν τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς Κακίας, καὶ ἑρμηνεύει μὲ // ἀκρίβειαν τὴν ἀληθινὴν χρηστοήθειαν, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ὑποχρεώνει τοὺς ἀν[θρώπ]ους ὄχι μόνον ὁ Θεός, // ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἰδία φύσις. Πῶς ἔπειτα τὸ ῥηθὲν βιβλίον δὲν εἶναι κἀνένα Συγγραμ-//μα σκανδαλοποιόν, τοῦτο, ἀγκαλὰ φαίνεται καὶ ἀπὸ μοναχὴν τὴν Ἐπιγραφήν του, μ' ὅλον τοῦτο // ἠμπορεῖ ἡ Πανευμενὴς Ἐξοχότηςτης νὰ τὸ πληροφορηθῇ καὶ ἐμπράκτως. Πῶς πάλιν ἕνα // παρόμοιον βιβλίον μέλλει νὰ ὠφελήσῃ μεγάλως τὸ ὅλον σύστημα τῶν τωρινῶν Ῥωμαίων, φαίνεται(μου, // ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ συμπεραίνει τόσον ἀπὸ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων, ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν με-//γάλην ἀμάθειαν τῶν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων. Τώρα ἐγώ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ δὲν εἶμαι // ἀρκετὸς νὰ τυπώσω τὴν μετάφρασιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ προῤῥηθέντος Συγγράμματος, ἠναγκάσθηκα νὰ // ἐφεύρω ἄλλοθεν τὸν τρόπον, ἤγουν νὰ δημοσιεύσω τὸ Ἐπιχείρημά(μου εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πραγματευ-//τάς, ὁποῦ διατρίβουσιν ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν Οὐγγαρίαν, καὶ νὰ τοὺς παρακινήσω νὰ συνδράμουν εἰς τὴν // ἔκβασιν ἑνὸς τόσον χρησίμου, μάλιστα ἑνὸς τόσον ἀναγκαίου καὶ θεαρέστου ἔργου. Καὶ ἐπ' // ἀληθείας, Ἐξοχώτατε, ἐγὼ μ' εὐκολίαν εὗρηκά(τους ὅλους προθύμους, μ' ὅλον τοῦτο συλλο-//γιζομενος τὰ ἀπαραίτητα δίκαια τῆς Πολιτικῆς καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Διοικήσεως, καὶ στοχαζό-//μενος τὴν βαθυτάτην καὶ διακριτικωτάτην σύνεσιν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐεργέτιδος Ἐξοχότητος, //*

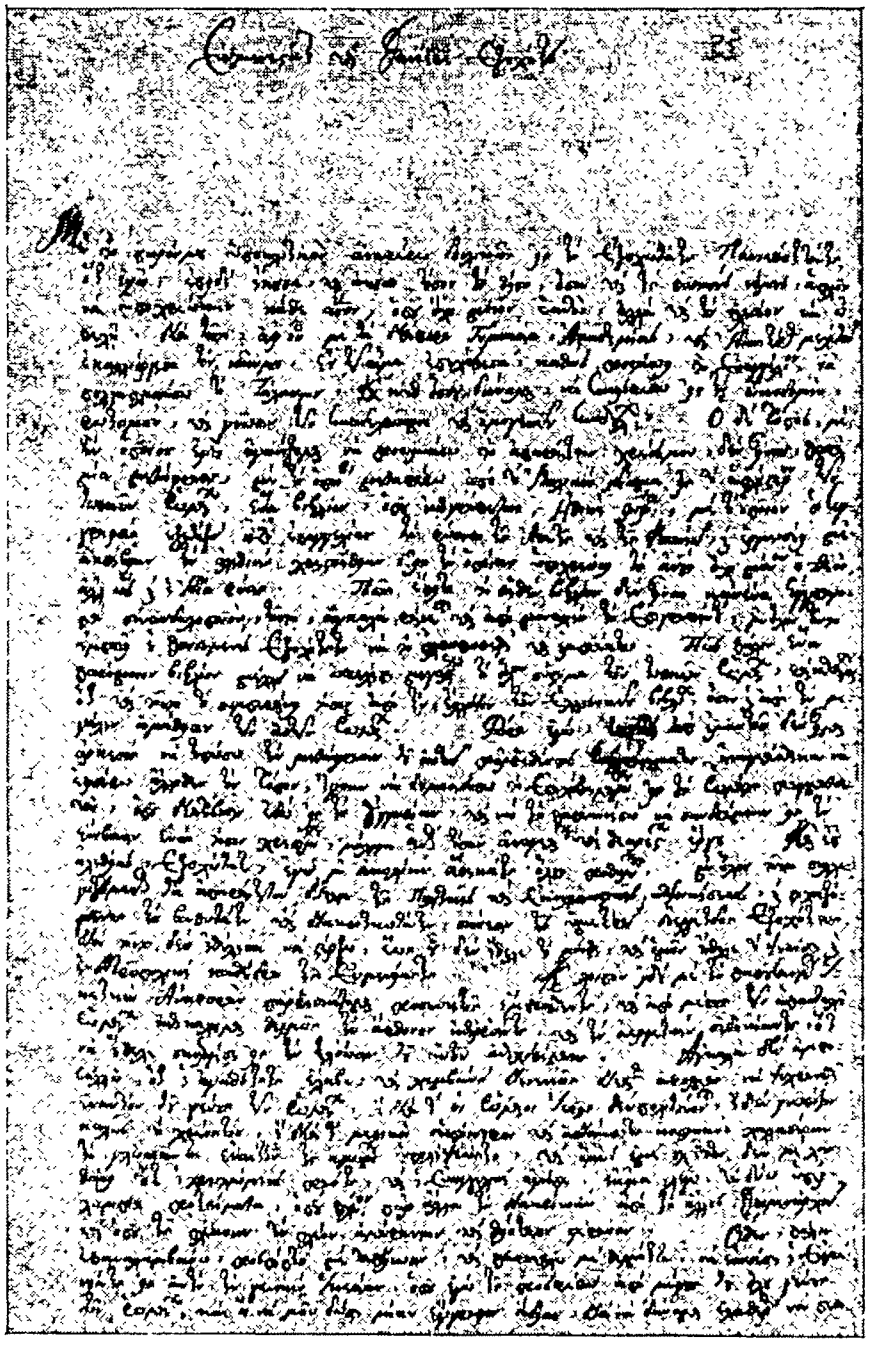
*διὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἠθέλησα νὰ στέρξω, ἕως οὗ δὲν ἤθελε τὸ μάθῃ, καὶ ὁμοῦ ἤθελε τὸ ψηφίσῃ καὶ || ἡ Μ[ητ]ροπολικὴ καθέδρα τῆς Εὐμενείας της. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἰδοὺ μὲ τὴν παροῦσαν μου Ἱ-||κετικὴν Ἀναφορὰν παῤῥησιάζομαι προσκυνητῶς ἔμπροσθέν της, καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ || Ῥωμαίων ἐπικαλοῦμαι θερμῶς τὴν ἄφθονον ἐπιῤῥοήν της, καὶ τὴν εὐεργετικὴν εὐδοκίαν της, ὅτι || νὰ ἤθελε συνεργήσῃ εἰς τὴν τελείωσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος. Ἀγκαλὰ δὲν ἀμφι-||βάλλω, ὅτι ἡ ἀγαθότης της ἔλαβε, καὶ λαμβάνει διηνεκῶς δικαίας ἀφορμὰς νὰ ψυχρενθῇ || ἐναντίον τοῦ γένους τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἢ διὰ τὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Ἱερεῖς δὲν πολιτεύονται, ἢ δὲν γνωρίζουν || καλῶς τὸ χρέος των, ἢ διὰ τὶ μερικοὶ ὑπόκουφοι καὶ ἀδιάκριτοι κοσμικοὶ χαλκεύουν || τὴν γλῶσσαν των ἐναντίον τῆς ἀμώμου ὑπολήψεώς-της, καὶ ὅμως ἐμὲ οὐχ ἧττον δὲν μὲ λαν-||θάνει οὔτε ἡ χριστομίμητος πραότης, καὶ ἡ Εὐαγγελικὴ ἀγάπη, ἐκεῖνα, λέγω, τὰ δύω ὑπέρ-||λαμπρα προτερίματα, ὁποῦ πλέον παρ' ἄλλα τὴν διακρίνουν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄλλους Ποιμενάρχας, || καὶ ὁποῦ τῆς πλέκουν τὸν πλέον ἀμάραντον καὶ θειότατον στέφανον. Ὅθεν, πάλιν || ἐπαναλαμβάνω, προσπίπτω μὲ ταπείνωσιν, καὶ παρακαλῶ μὲ θερμότητα, νὰ εὐνεύσῃ ἡ Εὐμέ-||νειατης εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν γενικὴν Ἱκεσίαν, ὁποῦ ἐγὼ τῆς προσφέρω ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ ὅλου γένους τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἢ νὰ μοῦ δώσῃ μίαν ἔγγραφον ἄδειαν, διὰ νὰ δύναμαι ἐλευθέρως νὰ περι-||*

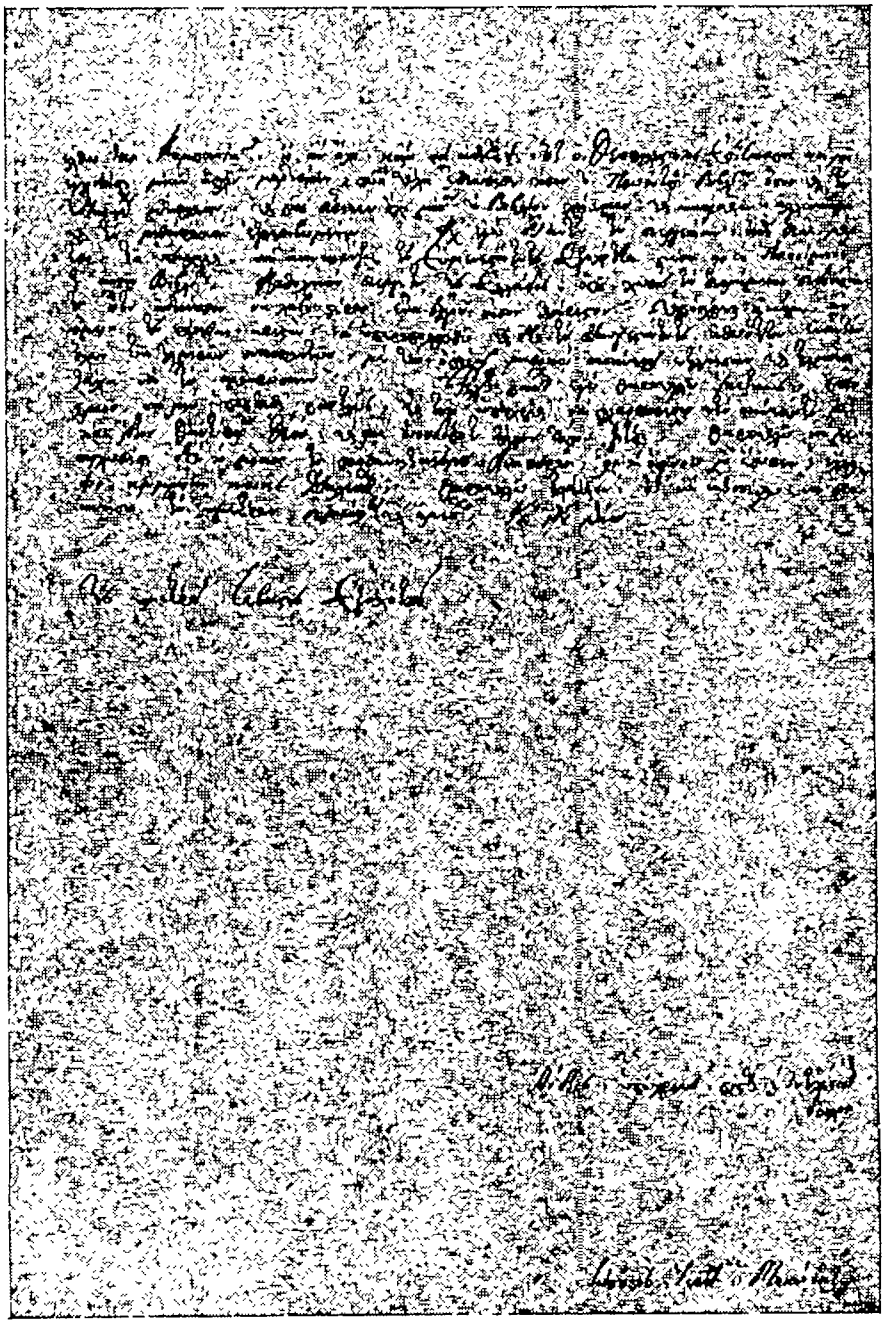
. . . . . .

*|| ἔλθω τὰς Κομπανίας, ἢ ἂν ὄχι, κἂν νὰ ἐπιτρέψῃ, ὅτι ὁ Θεοφιλέστατος Ἐπίσκοπος νὰ μοῦ || ἐγχειρίσῃ μίαν ἁπλῆν μαρτυρίαν, πῶς τάχα ἐθεώρησε τόσον τὸ Πρωτότυπον Βιβλίον, ὅσον καὶ τὴν || ἐδικήν μου μετάφρασιν, καὶ πῶς εὗρηκεν ὄχι μόνον τὸ Βιβλίον χρήσιμον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλ' ἀκόμα || καὶ τὴν μετάφρασιν ἐξηκριβωμένην. Καὶ ἐγὼ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ἐπὶ θεῷ μάρ-||τυρι, τῆς ὑπόσχομαι, νὰ ἀνακηρύξω τὴν Εὐμενεστάτην της Ἐξοχότητα μέσα εἰς τὸ Προοίμιον || τοῦ αὐτοῦ Βιβλίου Καθολικὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὁποῦ χωρὶς τὴν θεομίμητον εὐδοκίαν || της ἦτον ἀδύνατον νὰ λάβῃ πέρας ἕνα ἔργον τόσον θεάρεστον. Ὑπόσχομαι ἀκόμη, ἂν || ὅμως τῆς φαίνεται ἀρεστόν, νὰ ὑπεραπολογηθῶ καὶ διὰ τὴν διαυγεστάτην της ἀθωότητα ἐναντίον || ὅλων τῶν τολμηρῶν συκοφαντιῶν, μὲ τὰς ὁποίας μερικοὶ ἀσύνετοι ἐτόλμησαν καὶ τολμοῦσι || τάχα νὰ τὴν ἀμαυρώσουν. Τέλος πάντων ἐγὼ παρακαλῶ Ἱκετικῶς, περὶ || ἐμοῦ νὰ μὴν ὑποπτευθῇ παντελῶς, καὶ τοῦτο ὑπόσχομαι νὰ πληροφορήσω τὴν σύνεσίν της μὲ || τὸν Ἴδιον παντέφορον θεόν, καὶ μὲ οἱονδήποτε ἄλλον τρόπον ζητήσῃ. Παρακαλῶ νὰ μὲ || συγχωρήσῃ*

διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς προσκυνητικῆς μου Ἀναφορᾶς, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον μ' ἔσυρεν ἡ ἔλλει-//ψις κἀμμιᾶς κοινῆς Διαλέκτου, Παρακαλῶ τελευ-ταῖον, ὅτι νὰ ἐπινεύσῃ, νὰ προσ-//κυνήσω τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐμένει-αν καὶ ἀμέσως, Καὶ ἰδοὺ μένω
τῆς ὑμετέρας Σεβαστῆς Ἐξοχότητος
Ἀΐδιος, ὑπόχρεως, πιστός, καὶ εὐτελέστατος
δοῦλος
Ἰώσηπος, Ἱερεῦς»: ὁ Μοισιόδαξ

*Balkanologisches Institut*
*der Serbischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Kunste*





*ATHANASSIOS E. KARATHANASSIS*

# APERÇU CRITIQUE SUR LES RECHERCHES CONCERNANT RHIGAS PHERRAIOS PARUES DANS LA PÉRIODE 1973-1985

En 1973 notre collègue de Bucarest Mme Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu publia dans la *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes,* vol. 11, 563-567, une petite, mais toute aussi intéressante, étude intitulée "*Rhigas Velestinlis et les recherches contemporaines*"; il s'agissait d'une présentation des données bibliographiques sur Rhigas concernant la période 1953-1973 et qui donnait une image globale des recherches sur la vie et l'œuvre du protomartyr de notre libération et avant-garde de notre littérature. Nous nous bornerons ici à présenter les études parues de 1973 jusqu'à 1985, faisant, ainsi, suite à l'étude de Mme Danielopolu, d'une part, et d'autre part nous tâcherons de faire le bilan sur la bibliographie plus générale concernant Rhigas Pherraios et mettre, ainsi, en valeur tous les travaux et recherches effectuées durant les 190 années qui se sont écoulées depuis la mort du martyr. Nous rappelerons, tout d'abord, que l'œuvre de Rhigas Pherraios recouvrait un domain largé et, à juste titre, aujourd'hui elle tire l'attention des philologues, des historiens et des juristes.

Ainsi, en 1973, l'actuelle directrice du Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques auprès de la Fondation de Recherches Nationales Mme Lucia Droulia, nous faisait savoir qu'Eugène Villeneuve avait republié dans son œuvre *Journal fait en Grèce en 1825 et 1826,* Bruxelles 1827, pp. 251-253, le texte français de Thourios de Rhigas puisé dans le livre de Jakovakis Rizos-Néroulos, *Cours de littérature grec-moderne,* Lausanne 1825; c'est un fait qui prouve non seulement la notoriété de ce poème révolutionnaire de Rhigas dans la Grèce, mais, aussi, l'intérêt des lettrés étrangers à ce sujet[1]. La même année, 1973, le Prof. Nicolaos Pantazopoulos étudiait dans une brochure les idées politiques de Rhigas en établissant un parallèle avec les sources traditionelles helléniques et des idées politiques européennes-parallèle que Rhigas lui-même

1. Voir «Οἱ μνεῖες τοῦ Σολωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ρήγα στὸ 'Journal' τοῦ Villeneuve» (Les références à Solomos et à Rhigas dans le "journal" de Villeneuve), *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής* 10 (1973) 208-209.

voulait établir dans son œuvre[2]. L'évêque Timothéos Kontomercos avait, par ailleurs, examiné l'œuvre de Rhigas du point de vue juridique[3]. En 1974, Mme Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, embrassant l'opinion de l'historien roumain V. A. Urechia, avançait l'hypothèse que Rhigas Pherraios fut professeur à l'Académie Princière de Bucarest[4]. Un autre auteur, Kostis Ballas, essaya d'interpréter l'idéologie sociologique dans ses rapports avec la classe bourgeoise[5]. L'année suivante deux chercheurs bien connus, le Prof. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos et le directeur du Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques et Médievales Léandre Vranoussis, présentèrent, quant au premier les plans révolutionnaires de Rhigas et le second les mouvements idéologiques de l'Hellénisme à la veille de la Révolution de 1821, dont Rhigas fut le meilleur animateur[6]. La même année apparut un livre avec différants textes d'esprit démocratique parmi lesquels figurent quelques textes de Rhigas[7]. En 1974, également, a été publiée dans sa deuxième édition, le livre de l'historien grec Yannis Kordatos sur Rhigas et la Fédération des Balkans; l'auteur étudie dans son ensemble la personnalité de Rhigas et soutient, dans le septième chapitre intitulé "Les plans politiques de Rhigas et la Fédération Balkanique" que Rhigas ne visait pas à la fondation d'un état balkanique, mais qu'il avait senti la nécessité de la fondation d'un front balkanique contre l'opresseur turc, qui leur était commun[8]. Le même chercheur majora l'importance des chants révolutionnaires de Rhigas pour l'Indépendance des peuples balkaniques, sujet qui intéressa plus-tard Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu; mal-

2. «Ἑλληνικαὶ καταβολαὶ καὶ ξενικαὶ ἐπιδράσεις εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ» (Sources helléniques et influences étrangères dans l'œuvre de Rhigas Vélestinlis), Édition de la Société des Avocats de Salonique, *Extrait de la Revue juriste Armenopoulos*, année 24e, mars 1974. Cfr. ibidem, avec le même titre dans l'édition de la Périfecture de Magnésie (Volos); *Μορφαὶ τῆς Μαγνησίας*, Volos 1973, 323-351+3 planches.

3. *Ἐλευθερία καὶ νόμοι κατὰ τὸν Ρήγα Φεραῖο* (Liberté et lois d'après Rhigas Pherraios); éd. Dodoni, Athènes ²1973, 29 (extrait de la revue *Πάνταινος*).

4. *Les Académies Princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, édition Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessalonique 1974, 447-449.

5. *Ὁ Ρήγας καὶ ἡ ἄνοδος τῆς δστικῆς τάξης* (Rhigas et l'essor de la classe bourgeoise), éd. de la revue *Νέα Σκέψη*, Athènes 1974, 15.

6. *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους* (Histoire de l'Hellénisme), vol. 11, Athènes 1975, 433-451 et en particulier 403-404, 442, 446, 447, 450, éd. de l'Ἐκδοτικὴ d'Athènes.

7. *Νεοελληνικὰ δημοκρατικὰ κείμενα. Ἀπὸ τὸ Ρήγα Φεραῖο ὡς τὸν Γεώργιο Παπανδρέου* (Textes néohelléniques démocratiques, De Rhigas Pherraios à Georges Papandréou), Athènes 1975.

8. *Ρήγας Φεραῖος καὶ ἡ Βαλκανικὴ Ὁμοσπονδία* (Rhigas Pherraios et la Fédération Balkanique), Athènes ²1974 (Première édition 1945), éd. Ἐπικαιρότητα.

heureusement elle-ci effleura seulement le problème sans l'atteindre dans ses dimensions réelles-voir plus bas.

Le chercheur de Bucarest Nestor Camariano publia, en 1976, dans la revue de Thessaloniki *«Μακεδονική Ζωή»* une brève étude, dont le sujet était la date précise de l'arrivée de Rhigas en Valachie, ses services auprès d'hospodar philoturc Mavrogénis, peu probables pour Camariano, ses rapports avec la "*Société des Amis*" (qui, selon les preuves apportées par l'auteur n'a pas été fondée par Rhigas) et l'idée que Rhigas avait écrit ses chants à Bucarest[9]. Quatre ans, plus-tard, 1980, le même chercheur revint au même sujet en posant une série de thèses concernant la vie et l'œuvre de Rhigas que nous examinerons par la suite. Un des spécialistes de l'œuvre de Rhigas Pherraios, le Prof. Apostolos Daskalakis, publia en 1976 la *Constitution* de Rhigas en insistant sur le fait que son rédacteur n'avait jamais rêvé à la création d'une coalition ou d'une fédération des états des Balkans; par contre, le Prof. Daskalakis soutenait l'opinion que Rhigas dans sa *Constitution* imaginait un état purement hellénique[10].

En 1977 Mme Rosenthal-Kamarinéa présenta les fruits des ses recherches au sujet de l'influence que Kallinos et Tyrthée exercèrent sur le Thourios de Rhigas; en effet, la comparaison des textes de ces poètes épiques avec les textes de Rhigas prouve le bien fondé des opinions de Mme Kamarinéa[11]. Une fois de plus Apostolos Daskalakis s'occupa de l'œuvre de Rhigas en publiant ses chants révolutionnaires et une monographie sur Rhigas[12]. En 1978 Mme Anna Avraméa présenta la méthode utilisée par Rhigas pour la rédaction de la Charte de Valachie qu'il avait publiée à Vienne en 1797; notons

9. Voir le fascicule du mois d'août 1976, p. 8-9 intitulé: «Ἡ διαμονὴ καὶ ἡ δράση τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ στὴ Βλαχία» (Le séjour et les activités de Rhigas Velestinlis en Valachie).

10. Ἀπ. Β. Δασκαλάκης, *Τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ (Πρῶτον Σύνταγμα Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοκρατίας καὶ ἐλευθέρας διαβιώσεως τῶν βαλκανικῶν λαῶν. Ἱστορικὴ καὶ κριτικὴ ἐπισκόπησις μετὰ τοῦ Συντάγματος καὶ τῶν ἀντιστοίχων τῆς Γαλλικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως. Σχόλια καὶ ἑρμηνευτικαὶ σημειώσεις. Ἔκδοσις νέα μετὰ προσθηκῶν)*, εκδ. Ε. Γ. Βαγιονάκης), Athènes 1976, p. 144 (Le régime le Rhigas Velestinlis (La première Constitution de la République Hellénique et de la vie libre des peuples balkaniques. Révision historique et critique et parallèle établi avec la Constitution et autres textes analogues de la Révolution Française, Commentaires et Notes, Nouvelle Édition avec des additions), Chez E. G. Vayonnakis), Athènes 1976, p. 144.

11. I. Rosenthal-Kamarinéa. "Einflüsse Kallino's und Tyrtaios auf den Thurios des Rigas", *Folia* 2 (1977) 127-136.

12. Ἀπ. Β. Δασκαλάκης, *Τὰ ἐθνεγερτικὰ τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ* (Les chants révolutionnaires de Rhigas), Textes, Commentaires, Notes, Nouvelle Édition, Chez E. G. Vayonnakis, Athènes 1977.

que Mme Avraméa avait découvert à Paris une charte de Valachie élaborée de la main de Rhigas[13]. À la même époque Athanassis E. Karathanassis publia, dans la revue *Μακεδονικά*, la lettre d'un grec de Vienne parlant de l'arrestation des collaborateurs de Rhigas, ainsi que de l'arrestation de «ρωμαϊκοῦ τυπογράφου» (l'imprimeur grec), à savoir Poulios; il s'agit d'un rare témoignage contemporain, qui a une importance certaine parce qu'ils sont peu disponibles[14] En 1978, également, l'historien Tassos Vournas réédita une belle biographie romancée de Rhigas, dont la première édition avait vu le jour en 1956[15]. Une série de documents inédits a paru dans l'étude de Mme Olga Katsiardi publiée dans la revue athénienne *Μνήμων*; l'auteur a étudié et commenté de nouveaux éléments sur l'arrestation de Rhigas à Trieste, à savoir son interrogatoire et son voyage tragique dans les mains de la police autrichienne[16]. En 1979 le Prof. Apostolos Daskalakis s'occupait de l'œuvre de Rhigas, ses plans révolutionnaires, le complot contre lui, son arrestation et sa mort[17]. La même année apparaîtra une réédition de la biographie de Rhigas rédigée par son ami et camarade Christophoros Perraivos[18]. Dans une autre étude Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu mettra l'accent sur l'influence des chants révolutionnaires de Rhigas sur l'idéologie des lettrés roumains et bulgares pendant leurs combats nationaux; l'auteur tire l'attention sur l'appel au combat et sur l'idéalisation du passé glorieux[19]. Toujours, en 1979, l'

13. Ἄννα Ἀβραμέα, «Ἡ Νέα Χάρτα τῆς Βλαχίας' τοῦ Ρήγα καὶ ἡ αὐτόγραφος ἐπεξεργασία, Σχόλιον Δ. Ζακυθηνοῦ» (La Nouvelle Charte de Valachie de Rhigas et son autographe élaboration, Commentaire de D. Zakythinos), *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 53 (1978) 375-407+1 πίν.

14. Αθ. Ε. Καραθανάσης, «Μία ἑλληνικὴ μαρτυρία ἀπὸ τὴ Βιέννη γιὰ τὶς πρῶτες συλλήψεις τῶν συνεργατῶν τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ» (Un témoignage hellénique de Vienne se référant aux premières arrestations des camarades de Rhigas Vélestinlis), *Μακεδονικὰ* 18 (1978) 79-102.

15. Τάσος Βουρνᾶς, *Ὁ πολίτης Ρήγας Βελεστινλῆς* (Le citoyen Rhigas Vélestinlis), édit. Pyxida, Athènes 1976.

16. Ὄλγα Κατσιαρδῆ, «Ὁ Ρήγας Φεραῖος-Νέα στοιχεῖα ἀπὸ τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῆς Τεργέστης» (Rhigas Pherraios-Nouveaux documents puisés dans les archives de Trieste), *Μνήμων* 7 (1978-1979) 150-174.

17. Ἀπ. Β. Δασκαλάκης, *Ρήγας Βελεστινλῆς. Ἐπαναστατικὰ σχέδια καὶ μαρτυρικὸν τέλος κλπ.* (Rhigas Vélestinlis, Les plans révolutionnaires et la mort de martyr etc.), Chez E. G. Vayonnakis, Athènes 1979, p. 184.

18. Χριστόφορος Περαιβός, *Βιογραφία Ρήγα Φεραίου* (Biographie de Rhigas Pherraios), éd. de Apostolos Charissis, Chez Bayron, Athènes 1979, p. ιδ'+98.

19. C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, "La conscience nationale des peuples balkaniques et les chants révolutionnaires de Rigas", *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* 17 (1979) 782-785.

archéologue Evangelos Kakavoyannis dans une étude intéressante, dont le sujet fut une rue de l'époque de Rhigas à Vélestinon, accentua l'importance de la Charte de Rhigas, laquelle faisait survivre la figure de la ville natale de Rhigas avec ses antiquités, dont, d'ailleurs, l'auteur fait une analyse détaillée[20].

Le Thourios de Rhigas, qui sécouait à l'époque les âmes des grecs, a été l'objet de plusieurs recherches; ainsi, en 1980 l'helléniste hongrois Ödon Füves faisait connaître un manuscrit qui était à la possession d'un commerçant grec Miklos Constantin de Tolcsva (à savoir Michel Constantinou); ce manuscrit comprennait un texte de Thourios, dont le contenu était bien différent du texte connu de Thourios publié par Fauriel[21]. Le chercheur Nestor Camariano dans une étude publiée, en deux suites, dans la *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes,* examina une série de problèmes concernant la vie et l'œuvre de Rhigas, tels la date de sa naissance, ses études, la date de son arrivée à Bucarest, les postes de professeur à l'Académie Princière de Bucarest ou de secrétaire de Grégoire Brîncoveanu et de Mavrogénis que Rhigas aurait occupés; il étudia, par ailleurs, l'idée suivant laquelle Rhigas avait été nommé Kaïmakam (prefect) de Kraïova et collaborateur du baron de Langefeld; à la suite Nestor Camariano passa à l'étude des problèmes posés, il y a longtemps par la recherche, à savoir si Rhigas avait été secrétaire du prince Soutzos, drogman du consulat français à Bucarest, si il avait participé à la fondation d'une société secrète[22]. Il examine, également, les activités littéraires de Rhigas, comme, par exemple; la traduction de *Σχολεῖον τῶν ντελικάτων ἐραστῶν* (l'École des amants délicats), *La Physique,* l'*Olympiade, Les chartes de Rhigas*; *Les chants patriotiques* etc.

L'influence de la personnalité de Rhigas sur l'opinion politique hellénique fut, aussi, remarquable; ainsi les libéraux grecs pendant la Révolution de 1862 fondèrent une société politique portant le nom "Rhigas Pherraios" visant, ainsi, à montrer qu'ils ont été influencés par ses idées politiques[23]. En

20. Ε. Χ. Κακαβογιάννης, «Ένας δρόμος τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ Ρήγα στὸ Βελεστίνο» (Une rue datant de l'époque de Rhigas à Vélestino), dans la revue *Κείμενα τοῦ Βόλου,* fasc. 5, printemps 1979, 415-429.

21. Ödon Füves, "Le manuscrit de la chanson révolutionnaire de Rhigas en Hongrie", *Μακεδονικά* 20 (1980) 494-497. Le même chercheur: "The Philiki Hetairia of Rhigas and the Greeks of Pest", *Balkan Studies* 12 (1971) 117-122 et "A. Rigasz-fèle Baràti Tarsasaq es a pesti gönöruk", *Szdzadok* 104 (1970) 75-77.

22. Nestor Camariano, "Rhigas Velestinlis. Compléments et corrections concernant sà vie et son activité", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 18 (1980) 687-719 et 19 (1981) 41-69.

23. Ἀντ. Λιάκος, «Οἱ φιλελεύθεροι στὴν Ἐπανάσταση τοῦ 1862. Ὁ Πολιτικὸς Σύλλογος Ῥήγας Φερραῖος» (Les libéraux à la Révolution de 1862. Le Sylloguep olitique "Rhigas Pherraios"), dans la revue *Μνήμων* 8 (1980) 9-46.

1980 vit le jour à Bucarest le livre de Mr. Léandre Vranoussis, qui ne cessa de s'occuper de Rhigas, intitulé "*Rhigas un patriot grec installé dans les principautés danubiennes*" (en roumain); l'auteur y présente la vie et l'œuvre de Rhigas completée par une série de nouveaux éléments; dans l'annexe l'auteur publia des fragments de l'œuvre de Rhigas, parmi eux l'on distingue une excellente traduction en roumain de Thourios, élaborée par le poète Ion Brad, ex ambassadeur de Roumanie en Grèce[24]. En 1980, également, dans le volume no 11 de la revue *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής*, hommage à K. Th. Dimaràs, le nom de Rhigas est prononcé à plusieurs reprises, sans pour autant constituer, l'objet d'une étude particulière[25]. En 1981, de nouveau, Mr. Léandre Vranoussis présenta une très intéressante découverte; il s'agit de trois rarissimes brochures, à savoir deux brochures de deux chansons révolutionnaires (le Thourios et l'Hymne Patriotique) et une troisième avec l'Hymne de Perraivos en l'honneur de Bonaparte, lesquels furent publiés en 1798 à Corfù, alors occupée par les français républicains. L'importance de ces trois imprimés est bien entendu considérable, si l'on tient compte que nous ne possédons aucun exemplaire de tout ce que Rhigas avait publié[26]. En 1981 Mme Anna Avraméa reprit le sujet qu'elle avait étudié quelques années auparavant; cette fois-ci elle examine le problème des toponymies de Valachie et leur interprétation par Rhigas[27]. En 1982 le Prof. K. Th. Dimaràs dans son livre *Ἑλληνικὸς Ρωμαντισμός* y comprenait son étude sur une tragédie de I. Zambélios, qui avait comme sujet la personnalité de Rhigas, tragédie, dont la présentation avait été interdite en 1842; l'idéal libéral incarné par Rhigas et les messages trasmis furent la principale raison de cette interdiction[28]. En 1982, Mme Cornelia Papacostéa-Danielopolu dans une étude traitant de la littérature hellénique dans les principautés parlait de la diffusion du roman sentimental et de la nouvelle

24. L. Vranoussis, *Rigas un patriot grec din Principate* (Rhigas, un patriote grec installé dans les principautés danubiennes), éd. Eminescu, série Klepsidra, Bucuresti 1980.

25. *Νεοελληνικὸς Διαφωτισμός, Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Κ. Θ. Δημαρᾶ* (L'époque des Lumières helléniques, Hommage à K. Th. Dimaràs), Athènes 1980, *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής* 11 (1974).

26. Λ. Βρανούσης, «Θούρια τοῦ Ρήγα (τυπωμένα τὸ 1798) καὶ χειρόγραφα τοῦ Βηλαρᾶ» (Thouria de Rhigas, imprimés en 1798 et manuscrits de Vilaràs), dans *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, année 1981, vol. 56, 299-312.

27. Ἄννα Ἀβραμέα, «Τὰ τοπωνύμια τῆς Βλαχίας στὸν χειρόγραφο χάρτη τοῦ Ρήγα» (Les toponymies de Valachie dans la charte autographe de Rhigas), *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής* 19 (1981) 100-119.

28. Κ. Θ. Δημαρᾶς, *Ἑλληνικὸς Ρωμαντισμός* (L'époque du romantisme grec), éd. Hermès, Athènes 1982, p. 157-164 (Ρήγας Θεσσαλός, Ἀθησαύριστη ἔκδοση τῆς τραγωδίας τοῦ Ἰωάννη Ζαμπελίου—Rhigas Thessalos, Une édition inconnue de la tragédie de Ioannis Zampelios).

tout en soulignant l'importance d'une œuvre de Rhigas intitulée *Σχολεῖον τῶν ντελικάτων ἐραστῶν* ainsi que de l'original des hymnes de Rhigas sur la littérature roumaine[29]. D'autre part, Mme Alexandra Anastasiu-Popa examina le caractère hellénique et interbalkanique de la *Constitution* de Rhigas; l'auteur soutient que Rhigas avait conçu l'idée de la fondation d'un état gréco-balkanique impregné des principes démocratiques et libéraux de la Révolution Française[30]. L'année suivante le Prof. M. Meraklis tira notre attention sur l'influence que l'auteur français Retif de la Bretonne exerça sur l'auteur de *Σχολεῖον τῶν ντελικάτων ἐραστῶν* (1790); le Prof. Meraklis avait defini cette œuvre comme le premier exemple d'une *para-littérature* en Grèce[31]. La même année le savant helléniste suisse Samuel Baud Bovy en étudiant le rythme musical de Thourios de Rhigas proposa de rechercher son original musical dans un modèle qui survivait en 1954 dans la région de Ierissos à Chalkidiki et qui était dansé comme le *χασάπικος*; il soutenait cette opinion ayant comme preuve à l'appui que ce rythme était aimé et dansé par les marins grecs qui à l'époque navigaient dans les mers Adriatique, Égée, et la Mer Noire[32].

L'année 1983 Yannis Papadrianos, présenta au public grec la rue nommée en l'honneur de Rhigas Pherraios à Belgrade, par laquelle les Serbes voulurent honorer Rhigas pour sa personnalité éclatante et sa contribution à la libération des peuples balkaniques[33]. Le théatrologue W. Puchner s'occupa avec le sujet Rhigas et la production théâtrale des deux décennies qui précèdent la Révolution Hellénique de 1821[34]. L'historien Thanassis Photiadis présenta une formidable hypothèse concernant les derniers moments de Rhigas à Trieste pendant son arrestation; il soutint que le noble anglais et haut prélat démocrate Fr. Aug. Hervey, compte de Briston, évêque de Devy en Irlande, fut le dernier chrétien qui vit Rhigas à sa prison à Trieste un peu

29. C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Literatura în limba greacă din Principatele Române, 1774-1830* (La littérature en langue grecque dans les Principautés roumaines, 1774-1830), Bucureşti 1980, 205-219, 217-220.

30. Alexandra Anastasiu-Popa, "En marge de la Constitution de Rhigas", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 20 (1982) 425-429.

31. Μ. Γ. Μερακλής, «Παραλογοτεχνία» (Para-littérature), *Παρνασσός* 25 (1983) 567-587, en particulier les pages 569-572.

32. S. Baud-Bovy, «Ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ Θουρίου τοῦ Ρήγα» (L'air de "Thourios" de Rhigas), dans les *Travaux du IVème Symposium de Folklor de la Grèce du Nord*, Ioannina 10-12 oct. 1979, éd. Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessalonique 1983, 11-16.

33. Γιάννης Παπαδριανός, «Ὁδὸς Ρ. Φεραίου στὸ Βελιγράδι» (La rue Rhigas Pherraios à Belgrade), dans le journal *Θεσσαλονίκη* 19 nov. 1983, page 6.

34. Y. Puchner, *Ἱστορικὰ νεοελληνικοῦ θεάτρου, Ἕξη μελετήματα* (Sur l'histoire du théâtre néohellénique, Six études), Athènes 1984 en particulier pages 109-119.

avant que le martyr fût transferé de Trieste à Vienne et qui, selon lui, serait l'inconnu qui avait porté le bulletin de Rhigas au consul français[35]. L'année 1984 l'helléniste serbe Mr. Miodrag Stojanović annonçait la présence d'un manuscrit daté en 1803 et comprenant le Thourios de Rhigas; ce manuscrit avait un certain intérêt, puisque jusqu'ici le seul manuscrit connu de Thourios datait de 1807[36].

Récemment Mr. P. Kitromilidis soutint que Rhigas fut l'élève de Iossipos Moesiodax, dont l'influence sur l'œuvre de Rhigas se veut évidente; le même chercheur croit que Moesiodax avait orienté son élève vers l'étude de la Physique et de la Géographie et que cette influence est sentie dans l'œuvre de Rhigas; la langue utilisée par Rhigas témoigne de cette même influence, toujours, selon Kitromilidis, c'est ce qui constitue l'ainsi dit *ἁπλοῦν ὕφος* (langue démotique), ainsi que l'influence de l'esprit de la *philosophie saine* sur la pensée politique humaniste, sur le radicalisme révolutionnaire[37]. Enfin, quelques opinions intéressantes sont contenues dans l'étude de Ioulios Kerpis concernant la connaissance de l'âge classique par Rhigas[38].

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35. Θ. Φωτιάδης, «Ρήγας-Καραϊσκάκης-Κόχραν. Μιά ἀπίστευτη συνοδοιπορία σὲ δύο αἰῶνες» (Rhigas-Karaiskakis-Kohran; une formidable marche commune à travers deux siècles), dans la revue *Τετράμηνα* 25, 26 (1984) 1657-1676.

36. Miodrag Stojanović, "Fanariotsko i Srpsko Gračansko Penistvo", dans *Posoban otisak iz Sbornika Gradska Kultura na Balkani (XV-XIX vek.)*, Beograd 1984, 201-221.

37. Πασχάλης Κιτρομηλίδης, *Ἰώσηπος Μοισιόδαξ* (Iossipos Moesiodax), Athènes 1985, éd. Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης.

38. Ἰούλιος Κέρπης, *Ἡ ἀρχαιογνωσία τοῦ Ρήγα Φερραίου* (La connaissance de l'âge classique par Rhigas Pherraios), Athènes 1985.

*ELENA FRANGAKIS-SYRETT*

# GREEK MERCANTILE ACTIVITIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, 1780-1820

This study focuses on the mercantile activities of Greeks whose bases were mainly Smyrna, but also other ports in the eastern Mediterranean, with western Europe and vice-versa. Many of these Greek merchants formed part of an extended family company, which had branches all over the eastern and western Mediterranean, and who cooperated with each other. This extended family company expanded continuously from one port to another in the Mediterranean, usually maintaining a head office in the eastern Mediterranean. The period under study, 1780-1820, is the most crucial period in the economic development of the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Spectacular rates of capital accumulation and economic growth occurred in this period which enabled them to set up these multiple trading bases.

The reasons for this growth were both economic and political. The last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, coincided with an expansionary phase of the world economy, and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, which led to a remarkable increase in the productivity of the British textile industry. The needs of western Europe, and particularly of Britain, for raw materials and markets for their finished products also increased. The eastern Mediterranean was one such market. Smyrna, the biggest international port in the eastern Mediterranean at the time[1], experienced spectacular economic growth in its trade with western Europe[2]. The French Revolution of 1789 and the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that followed, in the years 1792 to 1815, brought French economic domination in the eastern Mediterranean, since the beginning of

1. *Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille*, Marseilles, Série I, 19-20, États des marchandises envoyées en Levant et Barbarie (1749-1789); and Série I, 26-28, États des marchandises venant du Levant et de Barbarie (1700-1789). Hereafter this archive will be cited as *ACCM*.

2. Frangakis, Helen, *The Commerce of Izmir in the Eighteenth Century, 1685-1820* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1985), pp. 173-176.

the century, to an end. The military confrontation between the two major European powers, Britain and France, forced on France and Britain the opening-up of their trade monopolies to facilitate their trade at a time when free trade was "in the air" but not yet an established state policy. Between 1792 and 1815 France, seeing its merchant marine beleaguered by the continuous attacks of British privateers and warships, turned to neutrals in order to facilitate its trade. It repealed its law that excluded foreigners from trading in Marseilles three times until the law stood in favour of the foreigners[3]. When the law was not in force French goods, sent to Smyrna from Marseilles and consigned to Greek merchants, could be confiscated by the French consul in the Levantine port[4]. Increasingly though the French authorities became more accommodating as French merchants found it either too difficult or too expensive to trade on their own with the Levant[5]. In some cases cooperation on an individual basis between a French merchant and a Greek shipper, or merchant, had started even before the French Revolution, for the French were already experiencing difficulties in their Levant trade[6].

The Continental System, 1806 to 1814, placed obstacles in the trade of Britain with France's satellites, allies, and associated powers, which included most of Europe. Britain, with a rapidly expanding economy, sought the eastern Mediterranean market in a larger scale than ever before. It also relaxed the monopoly laws governing British trade with the Levant. The peace that Britain signed with the Ottoman Empire in 1797 was followed a year later by the first Greek ships to leave Smyrna for London[7].

Although by the end of the Napoleonic Wars the more dynamic economy of Britain had replaced French economic domination by British in the Levant there existed a gap of forty years or so, 1780-1820, during which the Greek merchants, along with the other Ottoman *raya* merchants, Armenian and Jewish, took over a large part of the trade of the eastern Mediterranean ports with the West, hitherto carried out largely by European merchants. The Europeans, armed with the capitulations (trade agreements contracted between the Ottoman Empire and a number of western European countries and which

3. *Archives Nationales de France,* Paris, Série AE Biii 242, Sur l'article 30 de l'ordonnance du 20 Sept. 1810, Commerce de Levant, 28 Sept. 1814. Hereafter this archive will be cited as *ANF.*

4. *ANF,* AE Bi 1065, Consul Amoureux, Smyrna, 23 Dec. 1791 to Minister, Paris.

5. *ANF,* Série F12/1850 A, État général des maisons de commerce, Smyrna, 1820.

6. *ANF,* AE Bi 168, Consul Benincasa, Ancôna, 6 Nov. 1786 to Minister, Paris.

7. *Public Records Office,* London, Series SP 105/121, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 30 June 1797 to Levant Company, London. Hereafter this archive will be cited as *PRO.*

favoured the latter) had hitherto enjoyed certain legal advantages over their *raya* counterparts. Added to this, were the monopolistic principles of their national economies and their superior organization, in terms of transportation and insurance, which combined to further exclude the *rayas,* for most of the eighteenth century, from a large part of the eastern Mediterranean trade with the West. Whatever exclusivety the Europeans enjoyed came to an end in the first quarter of the nineteenth century[8]. The *raya* community that benefitted most from these changes, even more than the Jewish or the Armenian, was the Greek mercantile community. This can be seen from their remarkable expansion in ports all over the Mediterranean, and beyond, in a short period of time, and their dominant position in the carrying trade, particularly within the eastern Mediterranean.

The reasons for this are multiple and some of them originate in the decades preceding 1780. Indeed even before 1780, the Greeks were able to take advantage of every weak link in the monopoly network that France and Britain had sought to establish. The free port of Livorno was a haven for clandestine and semi-clandestine trade between western Europeans who wanted to avoid the cumbersome monopolistic laws of their own countries and chose to associate with *raya* merchants and the latter, who operated freely from Livorno[9]. From the 1760s and 1770s Greek commercial houses, originating mostly from Smyrna, but also from Istanbul, such as Petrocochino, Prassacachi Brothers, Skaramangas were established in Livorno[10]. The Greeks were at no time the only Ottoman *raya* community trading in the Italian ports and Jewish merchants figured prominently, during most of the eighteenth century, particularly in Livorno[11]. Yet in the last quarter of the century, it would appear, the Greeks did start overtaking the other *raya* communities in the trade of the Italian ports with the eastern Mediterranean. They also challenged the position of the western Europeans, who were established in these ports and were trading with the Levant. Apart from Livorno, the Greeks were particularly prominent in Messina, Ancôna, and Trieste[12]. The following observation was made by the French consul in Trieste in 1782:

8. Frangakis, Elena, "The *Raya* Communities of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, 1690-1820: Demography and Economic Activities", *Actes du Colloque International d'Histoire. La ville neohellénique. Héritages ottomans et état grec,* Vol. 1 (Athens, 1985), pp. 27-42.

9. *PRO,* SP 105/115, Levant Company, London, 21 June 1699 to Consul Raye, Smyrna.

10. Zolotas, I., *Ιστορία της Χίου* (Athens, 1926), vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 301, 312, 366-367.

11. *ANF,* AE Biii 243, Miège, Renseignements sur le commerce du Levant, Livorno, 13 May, 1825. Hereafter cited as Renseignements.

12. Katsiardi-Herring, Olga, *Η Ελληνική Παροικία της Τεργέστης, 1751-1830* (Athens, 1986), 2 vols, *passim.*

> The trade of Trieste with the Levant is practiced mainly by the Greeks whose principals are in the Ottoman Empire. Until recently their trade was limited; their capital outlays were not very considerable and their activities were limited to Morea, Salonica and Smyrna; the increase that has taken place in the last two to three years is due to the Dutch who have been bringing to Trieste silk and cotton from the Levant and then taking it by land to Holland, Imperial Germany, and Switzerland. They use the same route for their exports of cloth and bulky goods to the Levant[13].

In 1785, 22 percent of Messina's imports came from the Levant and 6 percent of its total exports went to the Levant with Smyrna accounting for a third. In that year, 9 percent of Smyrna's imports came from Genoa, Livorno, and Messina and an equal amount of its exports went to those ports[14]. Silk cloth exports to the Levant which were, to a large extent, handled by Greeks, constituted an important sector of Messina's Levantine trade. Apart from silk cloth the Greeks also dealt in olive oil, which they purchased from the islands of the Aegean Archipelago and transported it to Messina, usually in their own vessels. From Messina the oil was transported, in Genoese vessels, to Genoa and Livorno where it was treated. The final destination was the soap manufacturers in Marseilles where the cargo was smuggled in without paying the 20 percent duty levied on all foreign trade. Oil transported to Marseilles in this way was cheaper than if it were bought in the Aegean islands, by French merchants, and transported to Smyrna and then on to Marseilles in French ships[15]. In addition to these goods the Greeks carried from Messina, as well as from other Italian ports, specie to the eastern Mediterranean[16].

After 1793 Marseilles was no longer able to dominate the trade of the eastern Mediterranean with western Europe, as it had done formerly, supplying not only the French with Ottoman goods, but also Imperial Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium. Genoa, Livorno, and Trieste took over this role. Furthermore, in the years 1793 to 1814, as Marseilles could not send French goods to the Levant by sea either, it had to use overland routes to Livorno, Genoa, Trieste, and Ancôna. These ports thus became the markets for French

13. *ANF*, Série Marine B/7, 446 Bertrand, 19 Oct. 1782 in Commerce des ports de l'Europe, 1 Feb. 1783. The Dutch were using a land route because the British were blockading their ports in the last years of the American War of Independence, 1781-1782.

14. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 14 Jan. 1786 to Minister, Paris.

15. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 3 Sept. 1785 to Minister, Paris.

16. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 4 Feb. 1786 to Minister, Paris.

goods to the eastern Mediterranean supplying western Europe with Ottoman goods, too[17]. As the Adriatic coast was relatively calm and free of British attacks and privateering until 1809, the ports of Trieste and Ancôna, in particular, benefited from Marseilles' loss of trade. Until 1789 Marseilles accounted for over half of the trade of Smyrna with western Europe, which itself accounted for over half of the Ottoman Empire's trade with the West. In 1801 to 1803, during the Peace of Amiens, 51.2 percent of Smyrna's exports to the West went to Trieste and Ancôna and 44 percent of its European imports came from these two ports[18]. As trade was directed to these ports the Greeks, who were well established there, were in a good position to take hold of a large part of this trade. The better established the Greeks were in the Italian ports, the more successful they were likely to be in penetrating major economies as those of France. Such were the fears expressed by the French consul in Smyrna, M. Fourcade, in 1820. He was right:

> ...The Greeks who have for the last fifty years been cherishing the hope for a happier future without success, have ended by forming numerous establishments in Italy, which despite our exclusion of them, will form a barrier which we can overcome only by attracting them into our economy...[19].

Holland was equally important to Greek economic development. Unlike Britain and France, Holland had a liberal policy that allowed foreign merchants to establish commercial houses in its ports. Mavrogordatos, who had one of the most solvent commercial houses in Smyrna[20], was amongst the first, together with d'Issay to set up business in Amsterdam in the 1760s. In 1762, during the last year of the Seven Years' War, over two dozen Greek companies or individual merchants sent goods to Smyrna from Rotterdam and Amsterdam, on Dutch ships[21]. Although most of these houses were exporting Dutch and other European-made cloth to Smyrna and elsewhere in

17. *ANF*, AE Biii 243, Renseignements.

18. *ARA*, Totaal Bedrag van de Invoer en Uitvoer te Smirna in de jaren, 1801-1803, in J. G. Nanninga, ed., *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel. Vierde deel, 1765-1826* ('S-Gravenhage, 1966), pp. 1542-1571.

19. *ANF*, AE Biii 242, Consul Fourcade, Mémoire, Smyrna, 1820. Hereafter cited as Mémoire.

20. *ibid.*; see also, *ANF*, F/12 1850 A, État général des maisons du commerce ottoman établies à Smyrne, 1820.

21. *ARA*, Consulaatarschief Smirna, 2dd, de Invoer en de Uitvoer met Nederlandschen Scheppen te Smirna, 22 Feb.-22 Aug. 1762, in Nanninga, *Bronnen...derde deel, 1727-1765* ('S-Gravenhage, 1952), pp. 715-763. In this bitter Anglo-French conflict Holland was neutral.

the eastern Mediterranean and importing into Holland Ottoman raw materials, a good number of these houses speculated in money too. From the late 1760s, as the monetary problems of the Ottoman economy grew, so did its chronic shortage of specie intensify. One of the most effective ways to alleviate the Ottoman market of specie shortage was to import bullion, in specie or in bills of exchange. Until the 1780s trade in money was mostly in the hands of western European merchants. It was not so for the bills of exchange whose circulation by hand was much more difficult to monitor. Ottoman *raya* merchants, therefore, actively participated in this sector.

Bills of exchange were used in the following way: when the market of Smyrna experienced acute shortage in a certain foreign currency (foreign currencies circulated together with, and sometimes instead of, the local currency) bills of exchange in that currency were sent to the port. It was a lucrative enterprise for these bills were high in demand and could be cashed at a high rate of exchange vis-à-vis the Ottoman currency. A high proportion of bills of exchange written in Smyrna or Istanbul were eventually drawn upon in the international financial centres of Amsterdam, Livorno, Venice, and Genoa[22]. Greeks, established in Holland, did not only enter the commercial sector of the Dutch economy but also its international financial and speculative networks. It greatly aided their rate of capital accumulation for profits from speculation were almost double those from trade at the time[23]. Apart from trade, the house of Mavrogordatos was also active in monetary speculation[24]. In the early 1800s, there were many Greek merchants in Dutch cities who could claim residence of several decades in the country and exercise political rights in the municipalities although they maintained close economic contacts with the eastern Mediterranean[25].

In 1787, over fifty Greek companies or individual merchants sent goods to Smyrna from the Dutch ports. Although in 1762 the number of Greek merchants sending goods to Smyrna from Holland did not outnumber their

It saw, therefore, its Levantine trade increase and was thus better able to allow Ottoman *raya* merchants in it.

22. Eldem, Edhem, "La circulation de la lettre de change entre la France et Constantinople au XVIIIe siècle", *L'Empire Ottoman, la Republique de Turquie et la France*, eds, H. Batu and J. L. Bacqué-Grammont (Istanbul-Paris, 1985), p. 91.

23. *ACCM*, I, 26-28.

24. Eldem, "La circulation", p. 97.

25. Algemeen Rijkarschief, 'S-Gravenhage, Arschief van de Nederlandsche legatie te Constantinopel, no. 132, July 1803 in Argenti, Philip, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios, 1577-1841* (Cambridge, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 36-45.

Jewish and Armenian counterparts, who were also active in the Dutch trade, in 1787 they clearly did outnumber them[26]. A reason for Greek predominance in the Dutch trade also, was probably the fact that the Greeks had control of the cloth trade in the market of Smyrna, and in most of western Anatolia, and the Aegean islands both wholesale and retail. This gave them a leverage with the Dutch exporters of European cloth into Smyrna. Cloth was the single most important commodity exported by the Dutch in the Levant. In fact between 1784 and 1818, they practically took over Dutch exports of cloth to Smyrna and to the rest of Anatolia[27]. Other factors also contributed to the predominance of the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean trade in general, including that of the Dutch and of the Italian ports: their ability to enter sectors other than trade in goods or monetary speculation, such as the carrying trade, and their ability to expand simultaneously into a very large number of ports in the Mediterranean and in western Europe.

The following example is representative of how it happened. After a family council in 1804, it was decided that Peter Schillizi Homerides should leave from Smyrna for Marseilles, taking a ship-load of goods for sale and letters of introduction to merchants and friends of the family. Having sold these goods, he returned to Smyrna for a brief period of time before going back to Marseilles to found, in 1805, the house of Peter Schillizi Homerides. After five years of successful business Homerides dissolved the company. By then the British, who were blockading the French coast, had for the most part stopped the trade of Marseilles with the Levant. After a brief sojourn in Paris, in October 1814 Homerides reached Costanza, through Salonica, taking advantage of the land route, with a considerable amount of goods. Soon after that, as the seas were open once more after the end of Anglo-French hostilities, he returned to Marseilles where he reopened his company[28]. Besides the Schillizi, the Ralli family (both were Chiot families whose businesses originated mostly in Smyrna although they were active also in Istanbul) is another good illustration of the complexity of the Greeks' mercantile activities and the speed with which they expanded their businesses. In 1815, Pandia and Augustus Ralli together with John and Eustratio Petro-

26. *ARA*, Consulaatarschief Smirna, dd[3], De Invoer en de Uitvoer met Nederlandschen Scheppen te Smirna, 22 Aug. 1786 - 22 Feb. 1787, in Nanninga, *Bronnen...vierde deel, 1765-1826*, pp. 1428-1466.

27. *ARA*, 349, Fremeaux, van Lennep and Enslie to van Haaften, 29 June 1782; and *ARA*, 120, Rapport fait à M le chargé d'affaires Testa sur les drapiers par J. de Hoschepied, Smyrna, 19 Feb. 1818 in *ibid.*, pp. 339-341 and 950-951.

28. Homeridis Schillizi, Peter, *Βιογραφία Αυτοσχέδιος* (Athens, 1871), Vol. 2, p. 6.

cochino set up the company of "Ralli Argenti" in Marseilles, as the French branch of the house of "Sechiari & Argenti" based in Smyrna, with a second branch in Istanbul under the name of "Petrocochino & Argenti"[29]. In 1818, two other Ralli Brothers, John and Stratis, left Livorno to set up a corresponding branch in London. They traded in silk and cotton from Persia and Anatolia, through Smyrna and Istanbul and exported to the eastern Mediterranean British cloth and French silk stuffs. Five years later, they set up the company of "Ralli & Petrocochino" in London and imported there wheat from the Black Sea[30].

The Greeks also displayed extreme agility in taking advantage of new trading opportunities and in shifting their commercial ventures to new trade routes, as the old sea routes during wartime became full of privateers and usually led to ports that were blockaded. In 1785, the port of Odessa was declared a free port. By 1820 an important Greek mercantile community was already established there. The house of Rodocanachi was amongst the most important houses in Odessa with branches in Smyrna, Istanbul, Marseilles, the Italian and Dutch ports, and after 1820, in London, too[31]. It dealt in Russian wheat, British cloth, French silk stuffs, cotton, wool, olive oil, and other Ottoman foodstuffs and raw materials, and specie. With the beginning of the French Revolutionary Wars sea routes leading to French and French-controlled ports became almost impassable. A number of land routes thus came into use. One route started at Constanza (the point of departure of Schillizi Homeridis in 1814) and went along the Danube to Vienna; another route was a tortuous land passage from Salonica through Yugoslavia to southern Switzerland and then on to Marseilles, or on to northern Switzerland and then on to western Europe[32]. The Greeks used these routes exten-

29. Echinard Pierre, *Grecs et Philhellènes à Marseille de la revolution française à l'indépendance grecque* (Marseilles, 1973), pp. 62-79.

30. Syriotis, Mikes A., "Ο οίκος των Αδελφών Ράλλη", *Chiaka Khronika* (1911), Vol. 1, pp. 101-110; Karidis, Vyron, "Greek Shipping in the Black Sea, 1815-1856: The Evidence from South Russian Ports" (unpublished paper given at the 1987 *International Symposium of the Modern Greek Studies Association*, Providence, Rhode Island).

31. Herlihy, Patricia, "Greek Merchants in Odessa in the Nineteenth Century", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (1979-1980), Vols III/IV, pp. 399-420; see also, Records of Baptisms from the chapel of "Our Saviour", Finsbury Park; Saint Sophia Parish Records Archive, Bayswater, London, 1830s; G. M. Rodocanachi, Merchant, 9 North Buildings, Finsbury Circus and Rodocanachi, son & Co., Merchants, 26 Finsbury Circus, see *Robson's Commercial Directory of London...for 1841* (London, 1841), p. 815.

32. A. B. Cunningham, ed., "The Journal of Christophe Aubin: A report on the Levant Trade in 1812", *Archivum Ottomanicum* (1983), Vol. 8, pp. 24-25.

sively. In the land route to Marseilles they carried cotton and colonial coffee to the French port in return for Orleans-made fezzes and French cloth from Languedoc and Lyons. It was a very profitable trade[33].

The Greeks also carried out a considerable trade, from their bases in Smyrna and Istanbul, with Austria[34]. In 1789, Greek houses established in Vienna traded in cotton which they got from Smyrna, and at times, from Volos, too. They used their contacts in the port of Trieste in order to acquire specie to send to Smyrna or Volos to purchase cotton with. To transport the specie to the Levantine port they used western European ships. The French consul in Smyrna saw this as an additional source of consulage, and placed an extra levy on all specie carried in French ships on behalf of foreigners. The French consul in Trieste, however, proposed the abolition in Smyrna of this levy. The French, he argued, no longer had the monopoly of the carrying trade in the Mediterranean and Greek merchants could very easily charter another nation's ships. In fact, the British first lowered and then abolished altogether levy on specie carried in their ships on behalf of foreign merchants[35]. Buying with cash in the eastern Mediterranean at the time gave the purchaser a distinct advantage and a discount on the price. In 1811-1812, British cloth, coffee, sugar, spices, and dyes rose suddenly in price in the market of Smyrna due to large purchases made for Russia and Austria where these goods were much in demand[36].

In the 1780s and 1790s, the Greeks used their status as *beratlees* (holders of Imperial licenses that gave them special privileges allowing them to operate under the protection of a European Power) to their advantage at a time when the *berats* gave a valuable opening to the international trade and particularly to the British trade, which was the last to abandon protectionism[37]. Yet, by the early 1800s a lot of British trade with the eastern Mediterranean was carried out away from the confines of the Levant Company. British merchants were bringing British cloth to Malta or Corfu (after both islands came under British control) contracting Greek merchants, who were already established there, to send the cloth out to their partners, or associates in the eastern

33. *Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, Paris, Série CCC, Vol. 8, Consul David, Mémoire sur Scio, Chios, 1823-1825. Hereafter this archive will be cited as *AMAE*.

34. *ANF*, AE Biii 242, Mémoire.

35. *ANF*, AE Bi 1087, Consul Fraunnery, Trieste, 27 Jan. and 24 March 1789 to Minister, Paris.

36. *ANF*, F12/1850 A, Consul Fourcade, Smyrna, 14 April 1812 to Minister, Paris.

37. *PRO*, SP 105/129, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 13 Aug. 1804 to Levant Company, London.

Mediterranean, and predominantly in Smyrna[38]. They started to trade with Britain from the early 1800s as the most dynamic economy of western Europe was in the process of abandoning monopoly regulations. In 1804, the Smyrna Factory of the Levant Company, which had hitherto held the exclusive right, officially at least, to British trade with the port, complained vigorously of the infiltration of Greek merchants into its business to the head of the Levant Company in London through their consul in Smyrna, Mr. Werry:

> ...from a thorough conviction that the limited trade allowed to *beratlees* only, will not prevent other Greeks from carrying on a simulated trade to England, on which supposition the merchant and the factory will be equally sufferers. It is needless to repeat what many gentlemen in Your Worshipful Company are so well informed of the decay of the opulent Dutch establishments here occasioned solely by the Greeks being permitted to trade to Holland, and the French who had granted a free trade to Marseilles...[39].

In London, Greek merchants came and settled from 1820 onwards. The first Greeks to be recorded as merchants, settled in London, were Eustratio Ralli & Co., and Ralli & Petrococchino, in 1820, operating from Billiter Square and Bond Street respectively[40]. These merchants traded mainly in Russian wheat. Their associates, established in Istanbul, also played a key role in this network of trade. In 1825 the Levant Company was abolished altogether leading to a free trade between Britain and the eastern Mediterranean.

The ability of the Greeks also to break the predominance of western European nations, and principally of the French, in the carrying trade, not only within the eastern Mediterranean, but also between the eastern Mediterranean and western Europe, and at times within western European ports, was paramount in their process of capital accumulation. Carried out mostly during wartime such carrying trade, though risky, was particularly lucrative. Neither the Armenian nor the Jewish mercantile communities ventured in this sector, which may partly account for the greater economic growth of the Greeks.

Besides the western Anatolian coastline, the Greeks were particularly active in the carrying trade of the Italian ports with the Levant. In the 1760s,

38. *PRO*, SP 105/132, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 9 July 1809 to Levant Company, London; see J. Blow Williams, *British Commericial Policy and Trade Expansion, 1750-1850* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 364-365.

39. *PRO*, SP 105/129, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 31 Jan. 1804 to Levant Company, London.

40. *Robson's Improved London Directory...for 1820* (London, 1820), p. 471.

the French were the only nation involved in the carrying trade of Ancôna with the Ottoman Empire, although they had already suffered a serious setback during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763)[41]. After the end of the Russo-Ottoman War (1768-1774), the Greeks were able to buy a large number of ships at low prices from Russian privateers[42]. With the outbreak of the American War of Independence, the French and the British carrying trade between Ancôna and the Levant fell into the hands of the Greeks. So that, whereas in 1777 there were only three or four Greek ships by 1785, there were twenty to twenty-five Greek ships active in this route, which represented almost a third of the ships employed in this carrying trade[43]. However, Greek ships were small, on the average under 100 tons, whereas French ships were over 200 tons, with the result that the bulk of trade between Ancôna and the Levant was still carried by French ships[44]. At about the same time, Greek ships started to become prominent in the carrying trade of Genoa and Messina with the Levant[45]. In 1782, during the last year of the American War for Independence trade between Messina and Marseilles was so severly disrupted as to make it unprofitable for the French to carry any goods in this route. The result was that Greek ships, as neutrals, took over part of this trade carrying foodstuffs and other raw materials from southern Italy to Marseilles and Lyons[46]. In 1784, Greeks in Messina were planning to hire French ships with capacities of 150 to 200 tons to expand their carrying trade since the Ottoman foodstuffs that Greek ships brought to Messina even after passing through the hands of several Italian and French merchants undersold similar goods sent through official channels to Marseilles. At the same time, the Court of Naples, to which the port of Messina belonged to, was promising Greek merchants to lift some restrictions which limited their trading activities[47]. The profits that they were able to amass were very considerable. Despite the fact that none of these ships were ever of a size similar to French carriers their proprietors were able, within a short time, to move from the carrying trade to establishing

41. *ANF*, AE Bi 271, États des batiments, 1756-1753.

42. *ANF*, AE Bi 861, Consul du Mensil, Mitylene, 25 March 1777 to Minister, Paris.

43. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, États des batiments, Messina, 27 Aug., 22 Oct., 10 Dec. 1785; 11 Feb., 8 April, 27 May, 17 June, 16 Sept., 21 Oct., 18 Nov. 1786; 6 Feb., 22 May, 18 Sept., 2 Oct. 1790.

44. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 14 Jan. 1786 to Minister, Paris.

45. *ANF*, AE Bi 168, Consul Benincasa, Ancôna, 13 Feb. 1784 to Minister, Paris.

46. *ANF* AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 22 May 1784 to Minister, Paris.

47. *ANF*, AE Bi 168, Consul Benincasa, Ancôna, 19 Aug. 1785 and 30 July 1782 to Minister, Paris.

businesses in the Italian port[48]. Greek ships were equally active in the carrying trade of Ancôna with the Levant[49].

Expanding further at the beginning of the French Revolution, Greek shippers based in Venice carried Ottoman goods to Messina and sold them to French and Italian merchants there for distribution to Livorno, Malta, and Marseilles[50]. They took back to Smyrna, and other eastern Mediterranean ports, silk cloth and specie and from the 1790s onwards, from Malta in particular, they took to the Levant British cloth.

During the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) Greeks, many of them Chiots, from their bases in the eastern Mediterranean, and mainly in Smyrna, took advantage of their position as neutrals in the Anglo-French conflict and, with the right types of licenses issued by the British, navigated the Mediterranean. They formed partnerships with Psariots, Hydriots, and Spetsiots, the Chiots providing the capital to buy cargo and any other necessary expenses for the voyage, and the others furnishing the ships and the crew. They carried wheat and olive oil from western Anatolia, including Smyrna, the Aegean Archipelago islands, Istanbul, Salonica, and even Egypt as well as colonial goods to French and Italian ports. They were armed with two types of licenses from the British. One license covered them for carrying British and colonial goods to be shown to the French, thus making it into a legitimate cargo, and the other license covered them for carrying French goods to be shown when intercepted by the British. When these voyages met with success the profits derived were very high, as both freight rates and the prices of the goods sold in the French or Italian ports were high. Yet there were times when these expeditions met with failure and then losses were equally substantial[51].

If the carrying trade were the fastest growing economic activity of the Greeks, the initial capital for it was usually raised through privateering, and even piracy, that took place during the long series of wars that brought great upheaval to the Mediterranean from the first Russo-Ottoman War (1768-1774) to the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Both piracy and privateering were well organized[52]. Greek merchants lent their money "à l'hypothèque", to be repaid with interest, to finance a privateer's expedition[53]. The Second

48. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 9 Feb. 1782 to Minister, Paris.

49. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 20 March 1784 to Minister, Paris.

50. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 14 Jan. 1788 to Minister, Paris.

51. *AMAE*, CCC, Vol. 8, Consul David, Mémoire sur Scio, Chios, 1823.

52. *ACCM*, MQ. 5-1, Consul David, Smyrna, 6 April 1825 to Minister, Paris. During the War of Greek Independence piracy and privateering became quite rife.

53. *ANF*, AE Bi 1087, Consul Fraunnery, Trieste, 27 Jan. 1789 to Minister, Paris.

Russo-Ottoman War (1787-1792) led to a great flurry of Greek privateering in the Aegean Archipelago. Russian and Greek privateers, working together in the same ship, did not hesitate to attack even Greek ships, which had Ottoman flags, leaving their owners to seek compensation from the Russian Consul[54]. The Russian authorities condoned such actions. The Russian Consul at Trieste refused to seize privateers' prizes or to take inventory of the goods seized by a privateer from a captured Greek ship[55]. Greek privateers continued their activities unabated during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. So much so that no ship with anything valuable on board ventured unescorted in the Aegean Archipelago during that time[56]. It was not only the Aegean Archipelago that suffered from privateering, but also the routes between the Italian ports and the Levant and between the Italian ports and France. Finally, Greek merchants were active in marketing the captured goods in the eastern Mediterranean, including such large ports as Smyrna[57].

In addition to privateers, North African pirates were particularly active in the whole of the Mediterranean throughout this period attacking all ships[58]. The Greeks were able to overcome them by obtaining, from the British, Mediterranean passes that exempted from seizure, if intercepted by these pirates. The British obtained such passes by paying subsidies to North African states. These pirates were not stopped till after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

In conclusion the Greeks, based principally in Smyrna but elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean too, taking advantage of the freer economies of the Italian ports and of the more liberal policies of the Dutch in order to enter international trade, and of the monetary difficulties of the Ottoman economy in order to speculate, amassed considerable capital accumulation and expertise. Moreover, taking full advantage of the favourable international economic conjucture, and of the military confrontations, that locked the

54. *ANF*, AE Bi 1087, Consul Fraunnery, Trieste, 30 Jan. 1789 to Minister, Paris.

55. *ANF*, AE Bi 1087, Consul Fraunnery, Trieste, 7 Feb. 1789 to Minister, Paris.

56. *PRO*, SP 105/128, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 1 Feb. 1802 to Levant Company, London; see also, SP 105/132, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 20 Nov. 1809 and 10 March 1810 to Levant Company, London and SP 105/133, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 12 July 1812 to Levant Company, London.

57. Themeli-Katifori, Despina, *Η Δίωξις της Πειρατείας* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Athens, 1973), vol. I, pp. 40-62.

58. *ANF*, AE Bi 859, Consul l'Allement, Messina, 17 May 1783 to Minister, Paris; see also, *PRO*, SP 105/135, Consul Werry, Smyrna, 17 Aug. 1816 to Levant Company, London.

major European Powers in combat with each other and weakened their economic hold in the area, the Greeks advanced their activities. In so doing, they displayed extreme agility and alertness in finding new venues to trade, in expanding to new sectors, such as the carrying trade, or privateering, however risky these might be, and to different ports, usually maintaining a family link with eastern the Mediterranean. All this led them, by the early nineteenth century, to considerable commercial success.

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# GRIECHISCHER WIDERSTAND GEGEN DIE ANTIGRIECHISCHE REISELITERATUR DER AUFKLÄRUNGSZEIT

## ZUR VERSCHOLLENEN PSEUDONYMEN SCHRIFT: "SCHREIBEN AUS LEMBERG AN DEN N.N. IN WIEN, DIE GRIECHEN BETREFFEND. WIEN 1788"

Unter den Bücherbeständen der Wiener Universitätsbibliothek und auch der Stadtbibliothek im neuen Rathaus befindet sich je ein Exemplar eines schmalen Bändchens mit 48 Seiten unter der oben angeführten Überschrift. Es handelt sich um ein Rarissimum, das wir in keinem gedruckten Katalog der großen Bibliotheken der Welt finden konnten. Die pseudonyme Schrift, die im neugriechischen Schrifttum bisher gänzlich unbekannt geblieben ist, stellt die älteste und gründlichste Offensive in deutscher Sprache gegen die unkritisch tadelnden Griechenland-Reisenden dar. Der Autor der Schrift, die von den österreichischen Zensurbehörden sicherlich beschlagnahmt worden war—daher die Seltenheit des Werkes—schreibt auf S. 37 von sich: "*In einem Zeitraume von zehn Jahren, die ich selbst in Griechenland in verschiedenen Städten zubrachte, habe ich alle Mühe angewandt, mir, sowohl von den Griechen als von den Türken, genaue Kenntnis zu verschaffen. Ich lernte vor allen Dingen ihre Sprachen, um mich ihnen unmittelbar und ohne Beihülfe von Dolmetschen, die meistens zu nichts zu gebrauchen sind, verständlich zu machen etc.*".

Dennoch: wir können uns nicht des Gefühls erwehren, daß wir in diesem Falle nicht mit einem deutschen Gelehrten in Lemberg, sondern mit einem mit der Materie der griechischen Reiseliteratur gut vertrauten Wiener Griechen der Aufklärungszeit zu tun haben. Es könnte auch sein, daß die Schrift, die mit den Buchstaben "G.V." unterzeichnet ist, das Produkt der Zusammenarbeit zwischen einem griechischen Gelehrten und einem deutschen oder österreichischen Philhellenen ist, zumal ja der deutsche Text stellenweise, was Wortwahl und Satzbau betrifft, eine vielleicht doch griechische Vorlage andeuten läßt[1].

1. Das Monogramm "G.V.", welches in keinem der bekannten deutschen und französischen Anonymen—und Pseudonymen—Lexika, und die Schrift selbst auch nicht im General-

Die Schrift läßt inhaltlich fast die gesamte europäische Griechenland-Reiseliteratur des 17. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert kritisch Revue passieren, ohne mit Lob und Tadel zu sparen. Bezeichnend für diese emotionslose Wertung ist die geradezu deutsche Sachlichkeit des Kritikers seinem Gegenstand gegenüber, vor allem wenn man bedenkt, mit welcher Sensibilität der große Koraïs in Paris den fremden Tadeln über griechische Zustände entgegentrat und scharf kritisierte[2].

Wir haben von der Schrift eine neue Ausgabe mit griechischer Übersetzung, Einführung und Kommentar vorbereitet, wobei alle Fragen, die mit dem pseudonymen Autor und dem anonymen Wiener Empfänger zusammenhängen, einer eingehenden Untersuchung unterzogen werden mußten.

Damit die Hypothesen—wie im Falle der "Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία—nicht ins uferlose gehen, lassen wir hier zunächst den vollständigen Text des "Schreibens" zum Nachdenken der Neogräzisten in Abdruck bringen. Wie bei solchen und ähnlichen Fällen wichtig ist, daß es solche Texte gegeben hat; denn sie beweisen die Wehrhaftigkeit der griechischen Nation, ihr kritisches Vermögen, das Selßstvertrauen und den unerschütterlichen Willen frei zu werden um schöpferisch neu beginnen zu können.

Übersichtshalber haben wir dem Text kurze Zwischentitel hinzugegeben. Unter den Abbildungen ein bibliophiler Leckerbissen am Rande: Das Exlibris des abgedruckten Exemplars aus der Wiener Universitätsbibliothek zeigt als Besitzer keinen Geringeren als den berühmten Wiener Germanisten griechischer Abstammung *Theodor von Karajan,* den Großvater des noch berühmteren Salzburger Dirigenten unserer Zeit *Herbert von Karajan.* Es folgt der Originaltext unter weitgehender Beibehaltung seiner Orthographie und Interpunktion.

Verzeichnis des deutschen Schriftums aufscheint, würde zu dem Namen des Zantioten Gelehrten *Georg Vendotti,* der sich zu dieser Zeit (1788) in Wien aufhielt, wohl gut passen; es ist vorläufig nur eine vage Hypothese, Vendotti als Autor der griechischen Vorlage und Verleger des "Schreiben's", und seinen Mitarbeiter, den Ex-Jesuiten und Philhellenen *Franz Alter* als übersetzer des griechischen Originals zu sehen, obwohl die äußeren Umstände es für möglich halten könnten.

2. Es ist auch nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, daß Koraïs, der bekanntlich seinen in Wien ansäßigen Freund und Vertrauten Ἀλέξανδρον Βασιλείου unentweg brieflich aufstachelte, den Tadlern der griechischen Nation durch Zeitungsartikel und durch anonyme oder pseudonyme Broschüren polemisch entgegenzutreten—, daß eben der weise aber nicht gerade tapfere Chier von Paris der Urheber des ganzen Unternehmens sei. Die Annahme ist wohl, besonders was das Erscheinungsdatum der Schrift betrifft vielleicht gewagt aber nicht illegitim, wenn man an die Unzahl der pseudonymen Schriften Koraïs denkt.

SCHREIBEN
aus
LEMBERG
an den
HERRN N. N. in WIEN
über
einen in der Brünner Zeitung Nro. 27.
vom ersten April dieses Jahrs enthaltenen
Artikel
DIE GRIECHEN
betreffend.
Wien, 1788.

## *An den Leser*

In einem aufgeklärten vielleicht nicht mit Unrecht so genannten filosofischen Jahrhunderte, unter einer Regierung, wo Toleranz in Religionssachen sich ohne Unterschied auf alle Bürger erstreckt, unter der Regierung des unsterblichen Josefs, muß es einen rechtschaffenen Mann äußerst befremden, wenn gewisse Leute es ungestraft wagen dürfen eine ganze Nazion, und eine Nazion wie die griechische ist, herabzusetzen. Eine Nazion, der wir alle die Kenntnisse zu verdanken haben, auf welche wir so stolz sind, verdient wohl mit allem Recht unsere Liebe und Achtung, und bei jeder Gelegenheit geschützt und vertheidigt zu werden; ja, als eine Nazion, die sich unter dem Joche der Sklaverei immer noch tugendhafter, weiser, und gesitteter zeigt, als wir freien Völker, hat sie Anspruch auf unsere Verehrung. Was soll man nun denken, wenn sie dagegen als /S. 4 unwürdig ausgeschrien wird, daß christliche Mächte nur einen einzigen ihrer Untertanen für ihre Befreiung aufs Spiel setzen? Und von wem? Von einem Zeitungsschreiber!

Ich gestehe aufrichtig, daß ich äußerst aufgebracht war, als ich in der Brünner Zeitung Nro. 27. vom ersten April dieses Jahres den dreisten Artikel las, der diese mir so schätzbare Nazion betrifft: um aber nicht aus Parteilichkeit oder Vorurteil den Zeitungsschreiber zu verdammen, sondern mich selbst zuvor noch genauer zu unterrichten, wandte ich mich an einen meiner Freunde, der lange in Griechenland gewesen war, jetzt aber in Lemberg wohnt, und bat ihn, daß er mir seine Gedanken über die heutigen Griechen mit-

theilen möchte. Seine Antwort, die ich darauf erhalten, ist mit meiner vorgefaßten Meinung so sehr übereinstimmend, daß ich mich nicht enthalten kann sie bekannt zu machen, in der Meinung dem Publikum einen Gefallen damit zu erweisen, da der Brief einen so wahren als kurzgefaßten Begrif von dieser Nazion enthält.

Wien, den 10ten Juni 1788.

Der Herausgeber.

*Mein Freund!*

Der einsichtsvolle Herausgeber der Brünnerzeitung hat vollkommen Recht, wenn er nach dem Artikel, den er über die Griechen schreibt, oder meinetwegen abschreibt, wiewohl ich alles fleißigen Nachsuchens ohngeachtet in keiner andern Zeitung etwas davon finde, noch hinzusetzt: Daß es unter den Griechen viele gelehrte Leute giebt, die gar wohl im Stande seyn werden, dieser beißigen Kritik recht sehr vieles entgegen zu setzten. Er bedachte aber dabei nicht, oder wußte es vielleicht nicht einmal, daß die Griechen, die doch so oft von läppischen Geschichtsschreibern, mürrischen Missionarien und unwissenden Reisebeschreibern, ihrer Religion und Sitten halber angegriffen worden, sich nie die Mühe gegeben haben, sich zu verantworten. Ich selbst versuchte es oft sie aufzumuntern, daß sie sich von den Europäern so ungerechterweise nicht sollten herabwürdigen lassen, und er- /S. 6 hielt jedesmal die Antwort: Wir lassen dem Fanatismus der Unwissenheit und der Bosheit gern das ehrenvolle Vorrecht, ungestraft so viel Unwahrheiten von uns auszukramen, als sie nur wollen. Da nun manche unter denen, die so nachtheilig von ihnen urtheilten, sonst Männer von Ansehen sind, so ist leicht zu denken, daß sie sich um so weniger mit einem elenden Zeitungsschreiber einlassen, und ihn zurecht führen werden, da man es ihm ansieht, daß er, entweder, weil er nicht weiß, womit er sein Blatt anfüllen soll, oder weil er ein paar Gulden zu erschnappen weiß, einen solchen Artikel selbst ausheckt oder abschreibt.

Mein Geschäft ist es nicht, bei so gestalten Sachen den Griechen eine Schutzschrift zu schreiben: da Sie aber von mir verlangen, daß Ihnen von dieser Nazion und den sie betreffenden Artikel meine Meinung sagen soll, so werde ich Ihnen mit Vergnügen willfahren, und Ihnen zugleich die Schwäche so vieler wider sie eingenommenen

Schriftsteller zeigen. Den Anfang mache ich mit dem Artikel selbst, den ich zergliedern werde, um zu sehen, was etwa glaubwürdiges darin enthalten ist, ohne mich darum zu bekümmern, ob der Zeitungsschreiber ihn aus Eigennutz oder Bosheit einrückte; er lautet von Wort zu Wort, wie folgt:

*Der Stein des Anstoßes*

"Man lieset gegenwärtig in verschiedenen öffentlichen Blättern einen Artikel, die Menge der christlichen Einwohner im türkischen Reiche betreffend; worin aber hauptsächlich von den Griechen die Rede ist. Das allermeiste ist aus Herrn Bü- /S. 7 sching bekannt, indessen kommen auch gewisse Stellen darin vor, von denen der Schreiber dieses Brünner Blatts sagen muß, daß er gar keinen Theil daran nimmt, so daß er die Herren Griechen, die darüber zürnen wollen, gerade an diejenigen verweiset, aus deren Feder jene Stellen oder Bemerkungen hergeflossen sind. Er, der Brünner, glaubt nicht einmal Ciceros Schilderung von den alten Griechen, weil er weiß, daß dieser sonst große Römer viel zu sehr für seine Nazion eingenommen war; hier folgt der Artikel:

»Die Griechen, heißt es, welche die alten Einwohner der türkischen Lande sind, leben unter den Türken vermengt, und übertreffen diese fast an allen Orten an der Zahl, besonders auf dem platten Lande. Zu Konstantinopel allein zählt man über 300000 griechische Einwohner, und auf den Inseln sind lauter Griechen. Sie erlegen jährlich ein Kopfgeld, welches itzt fünf türkische Piaster oder anderhalb Dukaten beträgt, und wofür sie einen Zettel bekommen. So lange die Knaben durch ein gewisses Maaß, welches die Einsammler dieser Steuer allezeit in der Tasche haben, den Kopf stecken können, sind sie frei, aber sobald ihr Kopf größer, als das Maaß geworden ist, so muß das Kopfgeld auch für sie erlegt werden. Von dieser Abgabe ist nicht einmal der Bettler auf der Straße befreiet: zahlt dieser nicht, so wird er ins Gefängniß geworfen, und bleibt so lange eingekerkert, bis gutthätige Personen für ihn das Kopfgeld erlegen.

/S. 8 »Armuth kann also für keine Entschuldigung gelten, weil sonst bei den betrügerischen Griechen, die auch üppig sind, über die Hälfte dem Staat verlohren gehen würde. Die Frauenzimmer sind von diesem Kopfgelde frei. Auf die Griechen folgen in

Ansehung der Menge die Armenier; denn diese sind jenen in Konstantinopel und verschiedenen Orten an der Zahl gleich: Sie sind überhaupt reicher als die Griechen, weil sie den Handel besser verstehen, auch arbeitsamer sind, und sparsamer leben. Man trauet ihnen auch eher als den Griechen: allein vor beiden wollen die nach der Levante handelnden Nazionen, wenn von Redlichkeit, Moralität und Geselligkeit die Rede ist, den Muselmännern den Vorzug geben.

»Das Schicksal dieses Volks (der Griechen) ist zwar nicht beneidenswerth; aber es ist auch nicht so grausam, als es hie und da beschrieben wird. Es läßt sich auch fragen, ob ein überwundenes und bezwungenes Volk von diesem Charakter, so wie der Britte, oder Franzose, oder Teutsche beherrscht zu werden verdiene. Andächtige Seelen seufzen über das schwere Joch der Griechen, indessen wird die Politik der christlichen Mächte an diesen Seufzern schwerlich so viel Antheil nehmen, um nur einen einzigen ihrer Unterthanen für die Befreiung dieses Volks aufs Spiel zu setzen; alle Achtung übrigens für die schönen Länder, welche die Griechen bewohnen! diese sind wohl mehr als eines christlichen Wunsches werth".

/S. 9 »So weit diese Bemerkungen. Es giebt aber auch unter den Griechen viele gelehrte Leute, die gar wohl im Stande seyn werden, dieser beißigen Kritik recht sehr vieles entgegen zu setzen".

Ich weiß nicht, mein Freund! ob sie auf den ersten Paragraf oder eigentlich die Entschuldigung des Brünner Zeitungsschreibers gemerkt haben: er bezieht sich darin auf das Ansehen des Herrn Büsching, um dem größten Theile des Artikels mehr Gewicht zu geben. Damit sie nun selbst sehen, wie falsch und boshaft der Zeitungsschreiber ist, werde ich alles, was Herr Büsching von den Griechen sagt, hieher setzen; es steht in seiner Einleitung in das Ottomannische Reich in Europa[1]:

"Die Griechen, welche die alten Einwohner des Landes sind, leben unter den Oschmanen vermengt, und übertreffen diese fast an allen Orten an der Zahl, insonderheit auf dem platten Lande. Zu Konstantinopel allein zählet man über 300000 Griechische Einwohner, und auf den Inseln sind lauter Griechische Einwohner.

1, Aus der Ausgabe: Hamburg. 1768, S. 1241f.

Sie sind der Unterwürfigkeit gewohnt, müssen sich aber sorgfältig hüten, daß sie nicht bei den Oschmanen den Verdacht eines Verständnisses mit den Feinden der Oschmanischen Pforte und eines Aufstands veranlassen. Sie pflegen auch von den Oschmanen, wenn dieselben mit einer christlichen Macht Krieg führen, zu mehrerer Sicherheit entwaffnet zu werden. Sie sind selbst mit Schuld daran, daß sie von den Oschmanen gering geschätzt, ja verachtet werden, denn viele schmeicheln denselben oft auf eine niederträchtige /S. 10 Weise; sogar, daß sie ihnen wohl die Steigbügel halten. Sie erlegen jährlich beim Anfang des Beiram ein Kofpgeld (Charatsch), welches itzt 5 türkische Piaster oder 1 1/2 Dukaten ausmacht, und wofür sie einen Zettel bekommen. So lange die Knaben ein gewisses Maaß, welches die Einsammler des Kopfgeldes allezeit in der Tasche haben, den Kopf stecken können, sind sie frei, sobald der Kopf aber größer als das Maaß geworden ist, müssen sie das Kopfgeld erlegen. Von demselben ist nicht einmal der Bettler auf der Strasse frei, als welcher bisweilen so lange ins Gefängniß geworfen wird, bis gutthätige Personen das Kopfgeld für ihn erlegen".

### *Statistisches*

Dieses ist alles: was Herr Büsching von den Griechen schreibt. Sie werden leicht sehen, wie sehr diese beiden Artikel von einander abweichen, und was für ein unverschämter Mensch der Brünner Zeitungsschreiber seyn muß, da er sich so dreist auf des Herrn Büsching Zeugnis beruft. Lassen wir indessen dieses unberührt, und untersuchen dagegen die in beiden Artikeln enthaltenen statistischen Berechnungen der Griechen etwas genauer. Wenn wir auf einen Augenblik mit Herrn Büsching annehmen, daß in Konstantinopel 300,000 Griechen, und eben so viele Armenier sind, so können wir sicher noch 100,000 Franken oder Europäer, Juden, Kopter, und andere Nazionen dazu rechnen, die also mit jenen zusammen 700,000 ausmachen. Nun wird niemand, der Konstantinopel gesehen hat, in Abrede seyn können, daß 400,000 Türken darin wohnen, auf die man ferner nicht weniger als 600,000 Weiber rechnen kann, wenn man bedenkt, /S. 11 daß die Morgenländer außer mehreren Weibern noch eine Menge Beyschläferinnen und Sklavinnen halten, und daß die Türken, die überhaupt der Keuschheit keine Altäre bauen, fast alle verheurathet sind. Die ganze Volksmenge in Konstan-

tinopel würde folglich 1,700,000 Seelen betragen, da doch alle diejenigen, die die Zahl der Einwohner in der Hauptstadt bestimmen, einhellig nicht mehr als 700,000 annehmen; welcher Verstoß! Das Verhältniß der Griechen und Türken ist richtig, wenn es heißt, daß die Griechen auf dem platten Lande und den Inseln die Ottomannen in der Zahl übertreffen; bei den Armeniern aber irret sich Herr Büsching wiederum. Er behauptet, daß sie in Konstantinopel und den andern Städten eben so zahlreich sind als die Griechen, da man doch, Konstantinopel ausgenommen, wo ihrer freilich viele sind, in der ganzen Türkei keine antrift, außer vier Familien in Adrianopel, wozu man noch zwei Familien in Filippopoli zählen kann, die größte Zahl von ihnen, die sich in irgend einer griechischen Stadt befindet. Von der Erhebungsart der Kopfsteuer, und zwar in Ansehung der Knaben nach einem gewissen Maaße ist Herr Büsching, und durch ihn der Herr Zeitungsschreiber, ganz recht berichtet, und beide rühmen bei der Gelegenheit, vielleicht ohne es selbst gewahr zu werden, die Großmuth der Griechen, indem Armuts halber wenige eingesperrt werden, und kein Beispiel vorhanden ist, daß einer im Gefängnisse gestorben wäre, weil sie von ihren gutherzigen Landsleuten jedesmal wieder befreit werden. Sonst aber weiß dieser schätzbare Geograf von dem, was die Türken angeht, sehr wenig. Er nimmt nur eine allgemeine Kopfsteuer von fünf Pia-
/S. 12 ster oder einen Dukaten an, weil man ihm nicht angezeigt hatte, daß die Steuerfähigen in drei Klassen getheilt sind, die ich zu seiner und des Herrn Zeitungsschreibers bessern Wissenschaft anzeigen werde. Die erste, *Edna* genannt, begreift die Knaben, und die Armen, und zahlt 110 Para oder dritthalb Gulden: die andere *Efsat* zahlt fünf Piaster oder einen Dukaten, und dahin gehören erwachsene Personen, Bauern, Handwerker, u.dgl., in der dritten Klasse, die *Ulja* genannt wird, sind die Kaufleute, und der übrige Theil der Nazion, und diese zahlt elf Piaster, oder nach unserm Gelde ohngefehr zehn Gulden. Dies hätte der Herr Zeitungsschreiber sehr gut wissen können: allein anstatt sich an irgend einen Wiener Griechen zu wenden um versichert zu seyn, ob das, was Herr Büsching von der Nazion sagt der Wahrheit gemäß sei, fand er für gut, die von jenem fehlerhaft angegebenen Thatsachen tückischer Weise mit seinen giftigen Gloßen aufzuputzen, und zu sagen, daß bei den "betrügerischen Griechen", die auch üppig sind, über die Hälfte dem Staat verloren gehen würde. Sie, mein Freund, mögen

selbst untersuchen, wie die Wörter üppig und betrügerisch da bei einander zu stehen kommen, und zugleich lesen, was ich Ihnen in der Folge über die Keuschheit der Griechen sagen werde; ich begnüge mich für jetzt hinzuzusetzen, was ich beiläufig von dem Worte betrügerisch denke.

### *Griechischer Volkscharakter*

Es ist wahr, daß die alten Römer die Griechen mit den Zusatzwörtern *fraudulentes, dolosi,* und andern mehr zu bezeichnen pflegten: wenn man aber unparteiisch, ohne Nazionalvorliebe auf den Grund /S. 13 zu kommen sucht, so findet sich, daß die Griechen, als ein witziges feines Volk, in den Kriegen, die sie mit den Römern führten, da, wo sie mit der Stärke zu kurz kamen, ihre Zuflucht zur List nahmen. Die Römer, die nicht dafür angesehen seyn wollten, daß sie weniger Verstand und Scharfsinn hätten als die Griechen, entschuldigten dann ihre Einbußen damit, daß sie den Griechen vorwarfen, sie übervortheilten sie mit Arglist und Betrug, so wie sie in allen ihren Handlungen treulos wären. Ob diese Beschuldigung wahr sei, lasse ich dahin gestellt seyn; genug, daß die Römer es den Karthaginensern eben so machten. Denn ohngeachtet sie von diesem tapfern und muthigen Volke mehr als einmal geschlagen waren; ohngeachtet Cicero selbst gestand, daß die Karthaginenser in ihrer Art Krieg zu führen eine Geschicklichkeit und eine Verschlagenheit zeigten, die die Römer nicht erreichen könnten, wollten sie ihnen in der Kriegskunst dennoch keinen Vorzug einräumen, sondern hiengen ihnen zuerst die Beiworte *fraudulentes, callidi* an; ja, sie giengen darin so weit, daß eine nicht gar zu sorgfältig beobachtete Treue im Sprüchwort *fides punica* bei ihnen hieß, so, wie nachher *graeca fides,* und daß sie einen treulosen Menschen *ingenium punicum* nannten. Sie verschwendeten solche ehrenrürige Beiwörter demnach nicht nur an den Griechen, sondern auch an den Karthaginensern, ihrer Lieblingsidee zu Folge, nach welcher sie alle andere Nazionen in den Augen ihrer Mitbürger herabsetzten, um eine gewisse Superiorität zu behaupten, nach der sie jederzeit strebten.

/S. 14 Sie sehen hieraus, wie der Haß, oder besser zu sagen, der Neid der Römer zu den Beiwörtern Anlaß gab, mit welchen diese die Griechen und Karthaginenser belegten; und wären die letztern nicht gänzlich vertilgt, so würden wir den Ausdruck *punica*

*fides* noch eben so oft hören als den, *graeca fides*. Niemand, glaube ich, wird in Abrede seyn, daß es Betrüger sowohl unter den Griechen gebe als unter andern Völkern: wenn aber ein Zeitungsschreiber einzelne Beispiele zur Regel macht, und ein ganzes Volk darnach als betrügerisch karakterisirt, das ist Bosheit. Setzen wir den Fall, ein Grieche läse den obigen Artikel und schlöße ohngefehr so: wenn ein Mann, der sich gelehrt zu seyn dünkt, folglich mehr zu wissen als andere; der bald von Politik, bald von Filosofie, bald über den Ackerbau, bald über den Krieg schreibt; wenn der, sage ich, so feil ist, daß er keinen Anstand nimmt, sich für einen Gulden der öffentlichen Verachtung auszusetzen; wie muß es da mit der ganzen Nazion, besonders mit dem gemeinen Volke aussehen? Wenn eben dieser Grieche sieht, wie so viele Kaufleute aller Vorsicht ungeachtet das Aerarium durch Schleichhandel hintergehen, und sagt dann, alle Kaufleute, ja die ganze Nazion ist betrügerisch und voll Ränke: wenn er die Ausschweifungen gewahr wird, die unter unsern Frauenzimmern und unter der Jugend überhaupt herrschen und sagen wollte, die ganze Nazion sei der Wollust und Ueppigkeit ergeben: wenn er gewahr wird, daß die meisten unserer jungen Leute irreligiös sind, und schlöße, daß die ganze Nazion die Religion entehrt, und nur das Äußere derselben beobachtet: wenn er die Mißhelligkeiten, Prozesse, Kabalen, und alle geheimen Kunstgriffe der Rabulistik, wo- /S. 15 durch man sich eines andern Eigenthum anmaßet, ergründete, und dann sagte, die ganze Nazion sei nur eine Rotte von Räubern und Mördern: wenn er die Zwietracht sieht, die in so vielen Familien herrscht, und ausriefe, alle Teutsche leben in einem immerwärenden häuslichen Kriege; der Vater stellet dem Sohn nach, der Sohn dem Vater, das Weib dem Mann, ein Bruder dem andern: wenn er die vertraulichen Gespräche so vieler Mißvergnügten und Störer der allgemeinen Glückseligkeit hörte, wie sie bei den gegenwärtigen Umständen die Türken bedauern, und ihnen Sieg wünschen, und schwöre dann, daß die Teutschen nur Maulchristen, im Herzen aber Mahometaner sind: wenn ein Grieche so urtheilte, ich glaube gewiß der Herr Zeitungsschreiber würde sich keinen Augenblick bedenken, den guten Filosofen als einen unwissenden, einfältigen, boshaften Geck der Welt bekannt zu machen. Machen sie jetzt die Anwendung von dieser Parallele; ich wende mich wieder zum Artikel.

### *Grausames Schicksal*

Ich wundere mich sehr, daß der Herr Zeitungsschreiber von den Uebeln, die die Griechen zu leiden haben, weiter nichts anführt, als die Steuer der fünf Piaster; vielleicht wollte er damit dem, was er weiter unten sagt, ein Gewicht geben, nemlich: daß das Schicksal der Griechen zwar nicht beneidenswerth, aber auch nicht so grausam sei, als es hie und da beschrieben wird. O! ich habe die Ehre ihn zu versichern, daß seine Unwissenheit aller möglichen Entschuldigung werth ist. Er selbst kann sich ruhig und mit der festesten Zuversicht schlafen legen, daß es niemand wagen wird, in sein Haus zu brechen /S. 16 und ihm seine Federn und Briefschaften zu stehlen, weil er unter dem Schutze der Gesetze sicher ist: er hat aber keinen Begriff von allen den ausgelernten Kunstgriffen, von den Beleidigungen, den Verläumdungen, Gewaltthätigkeiten und Ungerechtigkeiten, deren sich die Türken bedienen ihre höllische Haabsucht zu befriedigen, und den armen Griechen um die Frucht seiner Arbeit, um sein Vermögen zu bringen. Der Herr Zeitungsschreiber darf sich nicht fürchten, wenn zur Nachtzeit ein Ermordeter vor seinem Hause gefunden würde, daß man ihm als den Thäter behandeln wird: wenn aber die Türken, wie es oft geschieht einen Griechen, oder größern Vortheils wegen auch wohl einen Türken erschlagen, so legen sie den Leichnam einem andern Griechen vor die Thür, und dieser muß dann mit ein paar tausend Piasters seine Unschuld beweisen und sich los Kaufen; das weiß er nicht. Er ist unbillig genug, wenn ein kaiserlicher Soldat auf dem Marsche sich, ohne ihm den geringsten Schaden zuzufügen, vielleicht aus Noth gezwungen, bei ihm einquartirte, alsobald zu schreien, zu lärmen, und sich zu beklagen: was würde er aber sagen, wenn er in einem solchen Falle in der Stelle eines Griechen wäre; ja wenn er nur wüßte, daß der Türk sich nach Gefallen, und das geschieht fast täglich, bei den Griechen einquartirt, das Müßefirodar, das ist, das beste Zimmer, welches in jedem Hause für Fremde bestimmt zu seyn pflegt, einnimmt, mit der hochmütigsten, gröbsten Art, und als eine Schuldigkeit, die ausgesuchtesten Speisen verlangt, sich noch auf den folgenden Tag damit Versorgt, und beim Weggehen was ihm im Hause gefällt mit fort nimmt? Hundert tausend falsche Eide die man ge- /S. 17 gen den Herrn Zeitungsschreiber schwört, werden ihn nicht beunruhigen, denn er weiß daß nach der

Proceßordnung auch der andere Theil gehört, und nur der Schuldige gestraft wird: er weiß aber nicht, daß auf zweier Türken Zeugniß, ohne weitern Proceß und Untersuchung die Unschuld selbst verurtheilt wird. Wäre er Protestant, so könnte er dreist diesen oder jenen bei den Katholiken eingeführten Gebrauch loben, ohne fürchten zu müßen, daß die Katholiken ihm einen Pfal bringen würden, mit dem höflichen Ersuchen, sich entweder spießen zu lassen, oder seinen Glauben zu Verändern; wiewohl ich glaube, daß auf jeden Fall seine eigene Standhaftigkeit im Glauben ihm rathen würde, lieber seinen Luther oder Calvin so lange auf die Seite zu setzen, bis eine schickliche Gelegenheit sich zeigte ihn wieder hervorzusuchen, als sich spießen zu lassen: bei den Türken weiß er nicht, daß das ganz anders ist; daß beim kleinsten Wörtchen, welches zum Vortheil des Mahometismus ausgesprochen wird, auch sogleich der Pfahl da ist, und daß fast alle Griechen die Standhaftigkeit der heiligen Märtyrer nachamten, und sich lieber spießen liessen, als daß sie aus Furcht vor dieser Quaal ihre Religion abgeschworen hätten. Er geht ungehindert bis in die späte Nacht bei schönem Wetter in der Stadt spatzieren und genießt der Kühlen Luft: dabei aber hat er keinen Gedanken, daß die Griechen vor dem Ave Maria in ihren Häusern seyn müßen, und nachher nur mit der größten Vorsicht ausgehen können, wenn ihnen kein Unglück widerfaren soll. Er fühlts, daß er die Nacht ruhig in seinem Bette schlafen kann, daß keine Furcht, keine Unruhe, kein Lärmen ihn stört, vielmehr oft eine angenehme Musik ihn noch sanfter /S. 18 einwiegt: aber er weiß nicht, daß in der Türkei jeder Grieche in seinem Bette die Nacht zwischen Schlaf und Wachen zubringen muß, weil er keinen Augenblick sicher ist, ob nicht ein Schuß ihn auf eine Gefahr aufmerksam macht, die ihn oder seinen Nachbar trift; daß der dicke Rauch der sein Haus umgiebt, ihn oft zwingt, nackt hinaus zu laufen, sein Leben zu retten, wobei ihm kein zweifel übrig bleibt, daß an sein eigenes oder seines Nachbars Haus das Feuer von boshaften Händen angelegt war, um stehlen und plündern zu können.

Der Herr Zeitungsschreiber weiß, wenn er eine Reise zu machen hat, daß er aus Furcht vor Räubern, nicht auf eine sichere Gelegenheit warten, oder ein Regiment Soldaten zu seiner Bedeckung haben muß: er weiß aber nicht, daß in der Türkei die Griechen nicht anders als in Karavanen von wenigstens zwei hundert Personen reisen

können, damit sie vor Straßenräubern und Mördern gesichert sind. Es ist freilich wahr, daß es unter diesen wohl einige giebt, die so menschlich sind, einem Reisenden das Leben zu lassen, wenn er alles was er bei sich hat gutwillig hergiebt; indessen glaube ich nicht, daß der Herr Zeitungsschreiber sich entschließen würde selbst mit Versicherung seines Lebens in der Türkei allein zu reisen. Wenn er verheiratet ist, und Kinder hat, so kann er diese unbesorgt zu jeder Stunde des Tages in der Stadt herum laufen lassen: er hat aber wohl nie gehört, daß ein griechischer Knabe, er sei schön oder häßlich, wenn er sich nur zehn Schritte vom väterlichen Hause entfernt, Gefahr läuft, aufgefangen, um zu Befriedigung widernatürlicher /S. 19 Wollust gemißhandelt zu werden. Bekennt er sich endlich zu einer andern Religion als der im Lande herrschenden, und sein Monarch führt mit einem andern Staate Krieg, so weiß er, daß er wärend desselben, so, wie vor und nachhner, in ungestörter Ruhe leben kann: das weiß er aber nicht, daß die Türken, wenn sie siegen, aus lauter Freuden, und ihrem Siege damit das Siegel aufzudrücken, etliche tausend Griechen über die Klinge springen lassen, und wenn sie geschlagen werden, alles was sie von dieser Nazion auf der Flucht antreffen, niedermachen, um sich wegen des durch die Feinde verlornen Bluts mit Wucher an Unschuldigen bezahlt zu machen.

Hätte der Herr Zeitungsschreiber alles dieses gewüst, wie er es nun einmal nicht weiß, so würde er nicht so zuversichtlich entschieden haben, daß der Zustand der Griechen nicht so grausam sei, als er hie und da beschrieben wird. Er wird sich vielleicht mit der Ausrede entschuldigen wollen, er habe das nicht von den Griechen verstanden, die in den verschiedenen kleinern türkischen Städten leben, sondern nur von denen in Konstantinopel, wo sie nicht so viele Ungerechtigkeiten vom türkischen Pöbel zu erdulden haben; wo sie frei, von der Pforte geschützt sind, und freie Religionsübung haben; wo ihr Patriarch, ihre Büschöfe, und die gesammte Geistlichkeit mittels ein paar hundert Beutel alle ihre Vorrechte genießen; wo die Gefälligkeit der Türken so weit geht, daß sie zur Zeit gewisser Feste, wo die Griechen bei Nachtzeit in die Kirchen gehen müssen, die Stadtthore offen halten; wo die Griechen den ausgezeichneten Vorzug haben, daß sie zu Fürsten der Moldau und Wallachei erho- /S. 20 ben, und zu der erhabenen Würde des ersten Dolmetschen der Pforte ernannt werden können: allein, diese Ent-

schuldigung wäre nur in dem Falle gültig, wenn die Stelle, daß das Schicksal der Griechen nicht grausam sei, sogleich auf die Angabe der 300,000 Einwohner ihrer Nazion in Konstantinopel gefolgt wäre, und sich bloß auf diese bezogen hätte; sie verliert alle Kraft, da in den Worten von der ganzen Nazion die Rede ist.

Es scheint vielmehr, der schlaue Herr Zeitungsschreiber habe dabei an die Konstantinopolitaner gar nicht gedacht: denn dadurch, daß er den Vorzug gezeigt hätte, den die griechische Nazion vor andern in Konstantinopel genießt, und daß sie von Seiten der Pforte mit so vieler Güte und Achtung behandelt wird, welches freilich seine politischen Ursachen hat, würde er die Griechen gewißermassen gelobt haben, und seine Absicht war, sie herabzusetzen, und die Armenier zu erheben.

*Griechen und Armenier*

Eine Nazion, als Nazion betrachtet, ist immer ehrwürdig, und kann eben so wenig wegen ihrer Volksmenge und Reichtümer gepriesen, als wegen ihrer geringen Zahl und Armut geringgeschätzt werden. Ich würde auch aus diesem Grunde von den Armeniern hier gar nichts gesagt haben, wenn der Herr Zeitungsschreiber in seiner Vergleichung der Griechen und Armenier billiger, oder weniger hämisch gewesen wäre, und auf die Anzahl der letztern, die, wie ich bereits gezeigt habe, an keinem Orte den Griechen gleichkommen, und auf ihre Reichtümer, sich gar nicht eingelassen hätte: so aber sehe ich mich gezwungen, /S. 21 mich auf die Beschaffenheit ihres Reichtums etwas näher einzulassen.

Wenn er sich bloß auf die Vornemern unter den Armeniern in Konstantinopel einschränkt, so bin ich nicht in Abrede, daß bei 30 bis 35 Procent Zinsen eine Anzahl von etwa zwanzig Sarrafs oder Wechslern soviel es deren in Konstantinopel giebt, leicht Schätze sammeln kann: denn wenn viele Baßen und andere türkische Staatsbeamte, manche Fürsten der Moldau und Wallachei reden dürften, so würden sie gestehen, daß sie, um bei der Pforte keinen Verdacht zu erwecken als ob sie Reichthümer besäßen, sich oft genöthigt gesehen, von den armenischen Sarrafs mehrere Beutel aufzunemen und monatlich fünfzehn auch zwanzig von hundert Interessen zu zahlen. Ist hingegen von der ganzen Nazion die Rede, so sind, so

viel ich gesehen, die Griechen reicher, oder scheinen es wenigstens zu seyn, als die Armenier. Die Gründe die der Herr Zeitungsschreiber für seine Meinung angiebt sind grundfalsch. Der Seehandel den die Griechen treiben erfordert nach dem Ausspruche aller erfahrnen Kaufleute mehr Speculazion und wirft mehr ab, als der Landhandel mit dem sich meistens nur die Armenier beschäftigen; ich wüste demnach nicht, worin die größern Handlungskenntniße der letzteren bestehen sollten. Eben so wenig kann man sagen, daß die Armenier die arbeitsamern unter den beiden Nazionen sind. Ich gebe zu, daß sie in Konstantinopel die mühsamsten Arbeiten verrichten, und die gemeinsten Handwerke treiben, womit sich die Griechen gar nicht befaßen: allein mit aller Arbeitsamkeit, mit allem Fleiße sind das /S. 22 keine Geschäfte womit sich grosses Vermögen erwerben läßt; 4000 Träger armenischer Nazion können in Konstantinopel allenfalls ihre Familien ernären, aber nicht einer unter ihnen wird sich jemals bis zu einem Sarraf hinauf arbeiten.

Wegen der sparsamen mäßigen Lebensart verdienen die Armenier allerdings gerümt zu werden, indem sie sowohl in als außer Hause wie Filosofen leben, und sich mit einem Stück Brodt begnügen, wogegen die Griechen viel auf ihren Körper halten. Wenn diese aus dem Hause gehen, so kleiden sie sich einfach und schlecht, um der so gefährlichen Klippe, dem Verdacht des Reichtums, desto leichter auszuweichen: sobald sie aber in ihren Häusern sind, genießen sie die Freuden dieses Lebens in Fülle; Hausgeräthe, Kleider, Schmuck, die ausgesuchtesten Speisen, Weine aller Art; an dem allen laßen sie sich nichts abgehen. Ich selbst hatte an vielen Orten und in verschiedenen Häusern Gelegenheit, die Erfarung davon zu machen, wann ich bei Kaufleuten oder Handwerkern, die äußerlich arm und roh schienen, Zutritt erhielt, ohngeachtet ich keine Empfehlungsschreiben an sie hatte, wie bei uns der unnütze Gebrauch ist. Ich erstaunte einen Aufwand bei ihnen zu sehen, den ich in einem jeden andern Hause eher als bei ihnen erwartet hätte. Da waren Sklaven und Sklavinnen in Menge, einige mit dem Fremden beschäftigt, andere mit dem Hausherrn; hier sah man einige mit Zubereitung der Speisen beschäftigt, dort andere, die eine prächtige Tafel deckten; kurz, alle so emsig bei irgend einer Verrichtung, daß man hätte glauben sollen, es werde ein großes Gastmal im /S. 23 Hause gegeben. Und gleichwohl war das alles keine Wirkung der bei den Mor-

genländern so gewöhnlichen Gastfreiheit: denn wie hätten in einer Zeit von einer viertel Stunde so viele und so köstliche Speisen aufgetragen werden können, zumal man mich nicht erwarten konnte, wenn das nicht die gewöhnliche Art zu leben gewesen wäre? Ich würde ungerecht gegen die Armenier seyn, wenn ich leugnete, daß ich auch von vielen unter ihnen sehr gut bewirthet worden, nur, welches ich hinzusetzen muß, auf vorläufige Einladung: jedoch, meiner Verbindlichkeit für ihre Freundschaft unbeschadet, muß ich gleichwohl gestehen, daß ich an den Griechen immer ein offenes natürliches Bertragen wahrnahm, wenn sie mich empfiengen, bei den Armeniern hingegen eine gewiße Aengstlichkeit, und eine Art von Vorwurf, den sie sich selbst zu machen schienen, daß sie die Gränzen ihrer alltäglichen, das ist, geringen und sparsamen Diät überschritten hatten.

*Katharina II. und Joseph II.*

Nun noch etwas über den politischen Ausfall des Herrn Zeitungsschreibers. Ich schäme mich beinahe ein Teutscher zu seyn, wenn ich denke, daß es in Teutschlands Hauptstadt, und der Herr Brünner Zeitungsschreiber wohnt ja da, Leute giebt, die bei ihrem sonst richtigen Verstande so ungereimte und beleidigende Sachen, selbst von europäischen Regenten, in den Tag hineinschreiben. Er sagt bei den jetzigen Umständen, es liege Katharinen der zweiten, und Joseph dem zweiten an dem Leben eines einzigen Soldaten mehr, als an fünfzehn Millionen Menschen; ist das nicht der rasendste Gedanke der je dem verrücktesten Bewoner des Narrenhauses einfallen könn- /S. 24 te? Liegt nicht in diesem höchst unsinnigen Satze ganz natürlich, daß aller Eifer mit dem die rußische Kaiserin sich im letzten Türkenkriege der Griechen annahm bloße Verstellung gewesen; daß alle ihre Manifeste wodurch sie dieses Volk ermunterte sich frei zu machen Täuschung war? Folgt nicht daraus, daß das Mitleid welches Joseph der zweite den unglücklichen Griechen zeigt, indem er diejenigen die sich in seine Staaten begeben aufnimmt und schützt, und andere durch die von seinen Generalen bekanntgemachten Manifeste dazu einladet, kein Mitleid sondern Staatsintereße sei? Ich will dem Zeitungsschreiber solcher Gesinnungen nicht beschuldigen; ich entferne mich also von der Materie so weit sie gekrönte Häupter betrifft, und betrachte sie bloß menschlicher und politischer weise.

Ich gestehe, daß das Leben eines Menschen, eines Soldaten, äußerst kostbar ist, und daß nichts auf der Welt dasselbe bezahlen kann: ich weiß aber auch daß das Elend so vieler tausend und tausend unglücklichen Griechen einiges Mitleid verdient. Ich will mich deutlicher erklären. Setzen wir auf der einen Seite fünfzehn Millionen Menschen, Männer, Weiber, alte Leute und Kinder, und auf der andern den allerruchlosesten Bösewicht: nehmen wir an, daß dieser mit einem Blicke alle die entsetzlichen Martern übersehen könne, mit welchen die Barbarei jene Unglücklichen quält, und wie sie von einem Augenblicke zum andern ihres Lebens nicht sicher sind: legen wir ihm dabei diese Worte in den Mund: "du siehst, wie viel diese Leute leiden, und daß kein ander Mittel ist sie zu retten, als daß du dein ei-/S. 25 genes Leben für sie auf das Spiel setzest". Glauben Sie, daß dieser Mensch einen Augenblick anstehen wird, sich für fünfzehn Millionen aufzuopfern? Unser theurer Herr Zeitungsschreiber aber wird seinem Raisonnement zu folge sagen: sie mögen leiden so viel sie immer können; mein Leben ist der Welt so kostbar, daß sie, wären ihrer auch noch einmal so viele, des Opfers desselben nicht werth sind. Ich sage es noch einmal kann man sich etwas unsinnigers gedenken, als, daß fünfzehn Millionen Menschen nicht werth seyn sollten, daß man einen einzigen Soldaten für sie aufs Spiel setze?

Wie lächerlich wird der Gedanke, daß die schönen Provinzen, welche die Griechen bewohnen wohl mehr als eines christlichen Wunsches werth sind, wenn er mit dem vorhergehenden Unsinn in Verbindung steht. Will er damit nicht zu verstehen geben, daß Oesterreich oder Rußland sich sehr glücklich schätzen würde, wenn es die fünfzehn Millionen Griechen aus der Welt schaffen, und ihre schönen Provinzen besitzen könnte? Aber er blättere doch mir zu gefallen in seinem ihm so ganz eigenen politischen Systeme ein paar Seiten weiter, und gebe mir Auskunft, was die eine oder die andere dieser Mächte mit einem ungeheuren Garten machen soll, wenn keine Gärtner darinnen sind. Stellt er sich vielleicht vor, sie werden ihre eigene Provinzen entvölkern, und die griechischen mit ihren Einwohnern besetzen? Oder gar, irgendwo darin eine diogenische Republik anlegen, und alle andere Länder mit Riesen, und Centauren besetzen, die neue Kolonie vor der Ansteckung ihrer Nachbaren zu bewahren? Ich /S. 26 bleibe dabei; ich schäme mich unserer Landsleute, wenn ein Teutscher bei der jetzigen Lage so

ungereimte Sachen vorbringt. Eine grosse Menge Griechen, Servier und Wallachen sind nicht nur in den Oesterreichischen Staaten seßhaft, sondern die besten Truppen, die der Kaiser vielleicht hat, bestehen aus solchen: wenn nun irgend ein boshafter Mensch den vorhabenden Artikel in ihre Sprachen übersetzte, was würde diesen Truppen für Muth übrig bleiben die Feinde anzugreifen? Religionsanhängigkeit ist stärker als alle militärische Subordinazion, und bei dem Gedanken, daß fünfzehn Millionen theils Landsleute, theils Religionsverwandte nicht verdienen sollten, daß ein einziger Soldat für sie aufs Spiel gesetzt werde, müßten ihnen ja die Waffen aus den Händen fallen. Und jene tapfere Freikorps, die jetzt dem Feinde so viel Abbruch thun, würden sie nicht ihre Waffen lieber zum Vortheile ihrer natürlichen Feinde gebrauchen, als für eine Nazion, die von fünfzehn Millionen Menschen so geringschätzig denkt? Aber dem Himmel sei es gedankt, daß diese Zeitung nicht in ihre Hände fällt, oder wenn es ja geschehen sollte, daß sie so vernünftig seyn werden, den Zeitungsschreiber als einen Träumer zu verachten. So viel, mein Freund, mag über den Zeitungsartikel genug seyn; jetzt werde ich Ihnen Ihrem Verlangen gemäß kürzlich einen Begriff von den Griechen geben, die unter dem türkischen Joche leben.

### *Griechische Kontinuität*

Daß die griechische Nazion ihren vormaligen Glanz verloren habe, ist allgemein bekannt: aber nicht ein jeder weiß vermuthlich, daß man in ihren Trümmern noch sehr deutlich entdeckt, was sie /S. 27 einst war; ja, daß keine Nazion ihren Nazionalgeist so weit fortgepflanzt hat, als die griechische. Wer wird, wenn ich mich bei Beispielen verweilen darf, in einem jetzigen römischen Patrizier einen Senator des alten Roms erkennen? Wer in einem heutigen Italiener den Nachkömmling der weltbezwingenden Römer? Ist der französische Petitmaitre noch der alte Gallier, der Rom zerstörte, und selbst Cäsarn furchtbar war, oder der jetzige Teutsche noch der von Tacitus beschriebene Germane? Man betrachte hingegen aufmerksam und unpartheiisch die heutigen Griechen, so wird man ihnen die Ehre, wahre Nachkommen und Söhne der alten Griechen zu seyn, nicht streitig machen können. Ich rede nicht von den wenigen, die sich in verschiedenen Gegenden Europens zerstreut aufhalten, sondern von denen, die unter der Tyrannei so vieler kleinen

Sultane in der Knechtschaft leben; und diese, zu ihrem Ruhme sei es gesagt, haben sich durch eine ganze Reihe von Jahrhunderten, bei allen Revolutionen, beständig bei ihrer Originalität erhalten, da auf der andern Seite die Europäer mit den alten Bewohnern ihres Vaterlands einen auffallenden Kontrast machen.

Herr Güys[2] sagt über diesen Gegenstand in seinem dritten Briefe sehr richtig. "Welcher Unterschied zwischen den Griechen und uns! Sie machen alles, wie es ihre Väter machten, da hingegen wir alle Mühe anwenden, uns in unsern Gebräuchen, Moden, Gewohnheiten, ja sogar in unsern Sitten von unsern Vorfahren zu entfernen, und einen völligen Kontrast mit ihnen zu machen".

/S. 28 Eine Nazion beurtheilen zu können ist nothwendig, daß man sie kenne, und wer sie kennen will, muß unter derselben leben, sich mit allen Klassen des Volks und sogar mit der niedrigsten bekannt machen, weil man bei dieser den eigentlichen Nazionalkarakter antrifft. Wer nun auf diese Art reiset, und selbst, nicht bloß obenhin, sondern mit filosofischem Auge siehet, wird leicht wahrnehmen, daß die heutigen Griechen die Simplizität der Sitten und Gebräuche der alten durchaus beibehalten haben: er wird unter ihnen jenes feurige Genie, jene Lebhaftigkeit, jene Stärke der Einbildungskraft und des Ausdrucks finden, die jenen so eigen waren. Er wird freilich die Künste und Wissenschaften ihrer Vorfahren bei ihnen vermissen, und mancher, der sich nicht einmal die Mühe gab, ihre Schulen zu besuchen, oder sonst auf die Erziehung der Jugend zu achten, nannte sie deswegen unwissend: aber ist es nicht eine offenbare Ungerechtigkeit, das, was eine Folge äußerer Umstände, eine Folge des Drucks und der Tyrannei ihrer Beherrscher ist, denen ihre Religion Unwissenheit sogar zur Tugend folglich zur Nothwendigkeit macht, zum Karakterzug der Nation zu machen? Ich frage einen jeden, ob der Franzose bei alle seinem Witz, der Engländer mit seinem tiefen Forschungsgeiste, der scharfsinnige Italiener und der filosofische Teutsche unter dem Druck des Despotismus, ihrer Akademien, Universitäten, Gymnasien und Lehrer beraubt, und gezwungen, nur auf Mittel zu Befriedigung des unersättlichen Geizes ihrer Tyrannen zu denken im Stande seyn wür-

2. Guys, P. A., *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce, ou lettres sur les Grecs, anciens et modernes, avec un parallèle de leurs moeurs*, Paris 1783 (Vier Bände).

den, ich will nicht sagen in der Gelehrsamkeit Fortschritte zu machen, oder sich in Künsten und Wissenschaften hervorzuthun, sondern nur nach /S. 29 Verlauf einer gewissen Zeit ihre Muttersprache noch zu reden?[3]

Ein filosofischer Reisender findet also, wie gesagt, bei den heutigen Griechen weder die Wissenschaften noch die Künste ihrer Voreltern, aber nichts desto weniger Anlaß genug manche europäische Nazion erröthen zu machen. Denn wenn man bedenkt, daß Griechenland seit so vielen Jahrhunderten unter dem Joche der Sklaverei seufzt, weder Akademien noch /S. 30 Universitäten hat, und seine Bücher von fremden Völkern gleichsam zu betteln, oder sich mit Manuscripten zu behelfen genöthigt ist: daß es das Glück entberen muß, von der wohlthätigen Hand eines guten einsichtsvollen Regenten unterstützt zu werden, und seine Söhne, wenn sie sich auch noch so sehr durch Kenntnisse auszeichneten, immer Sklaven, und von Würden, Ehrenstellen, und einträglichen Aemtern ausgeschlossen bleiben; so ist es äußerst zu verwundern, daß man dieser drückenden Umstände ohngeachtet noch mehr als vierzig Schulen darin zählt, in welchen Theologie, Filosofie, Matematik und schöne Wissenschaften gelehrt werden; eine Zahl, die an sich betrachtet für eine ganze Nazion geringe, für Griechenland aber, seiner Verfassung nach, sehr ansehnlich ist. Auch wird die griechische Jugend nicht so schlechterdings vernachläßigt. Der junge Grieche erhält einen zwar eingeschränkten aber für seinen Zustand hinreichenden Begriff von den Wissenschaften, und lernet dabei mehrere fremde Sprachen gewiß mit mehr Gründlichkeit, als die etliche und vierzig junge Leute, die zu Erlernung der morgenländischen Sprachen von

3. Man liest mit Vergnügen, was Madame Chenier in einem ihrer Briefe an den gelehrten Güys schrieb. "Das alte Griechenland", sagt sie, "von einer Menge Helden bewohnt, die die Fabel vergötterte, durch die fruchtbaren Wässer der Hippokrene benetzt, und beruhmt durch die Geburt der Musen, glich einem durch die bloße Hand der Natur immerwährend gezierten Garten. Das heutige Griechenland hat seine Freiheit verloren, seine Zieraten sind dahin: allein die Natur, die nie Stiefmutter ist, hat ihm sein Genie erhalten, und man kann mit Ihnen nicht leugnen, daß die Griechen, wiewohl noch so sehr entstellt, dennoch kennbar sind. Obgleich Athen und Lacedamon keine Gesetzgeber keine Filosofen und Krieger mehr haben, und Griechenland keinen Homer so bleibt ihm doch, wie Sie richtig bemerken, sein Karakter und sein Genie, durch die es mit Hülfe der Freiheit seine große Männer und Tugenden wiederum aus der Asche hervorrufen würde".

ihren Landesherren in der Levante unterhalten werden.

Ich wiederhole es, daß das alles im Grunde sehr unerheblich ist; ich kann es aber bei dem allen nicht unberührt lassen, weil man einigermaßen daraus abnimmt, wie sehr den Griechen Unrecht geschieht, wenn man sie uns als ein höchst unwissendes und den Lastern ergebenes Volk schildert. Und da alle dergleichen unglimpfliche, oft hämische Urtheile über dieselben von Missionarien, Geografen, Geschichtsschreibern /S. 31 und Reisenden herrühren, so erlauben Sie mir in aller Kürze die Schriften derselben zu prüfen, um Sie zu überzeugen, daß sie wenig oder gar keinen Glauben verdienen.

*Griechenland-Reisender*

Die Pflicht der Missionarien wäre, nach dem Beispiele der Apostel und ersten Väter der Kirche, selbst mit Gefahr ihres Lebens den Muselmännern das Evangelium zu predigen: dagegen aber vertändeln sie ihre Zeit mit irgend einem armseligen Schlucker von einem Griechen, den sie mit Geld, oder auf ähnliche Weise berücken, und als ein verlorenes Schaf zum allgemeinen Schafstalle zurückführen, gerade als ob derselbe deswegen kein Christ wäre, weil er an die Unfehlbarkeit des Pabstes nicht glaubt, oder das Zeichen des Kreuzes von der rechten Seite gegen die linke macht. Wenn nun diese Herren nicht so viele Konvertiten machen, als erforderlich ist zu einer Ehrenstelle in der Hierarchie zu gelangen, so muß es die ganze Nazion entgelten, von der sie in ihren Berichten alles das Ueble schreiben, welches ihnen der Verdruß über ihre unfruchtbare Arbeit im Weinberge des Herrn eingiebt.

Ein Erdbeschreiber, der ohne eigene Untersuchung bloß ausschreibt, überträgt auch alle Fehler, die sich hin und wieder finden, und vermehrt diese aus Unachtsamkeit oder Unwissenheit mit neuen; und so werden die Fehler von einem zum andern fortgepflanzt. Dies ist der Fall mit der Beschreibung von Griechenland. Beim alten Griechenland können sie zwar wenig fehlen, weil sie die alten Schriftsteller darüber vor Augen haben: desto schlimmer aber ist es /S. 32 mit dem heutigen, wobei sei aus Mangel an Kenntniß der gemeinen griechischen Sprache keine einheimische Schriftsteller benutzen können, und daher alles, was sie in fremden finden, wahr, oder falsch, ohne Unterschied niederschreiben. Es ist schon genug, wenn

ich Sie versichere, daß wir bei aller Gelehrsamkeit unserer Europäer noch keine geografische Karte von Griechenland haben, die, ich will nicht sagen genau, sondern nur in den wesentlichsten Stücken zu gebrauchen wäre. Die Herren Erdbeschreiber begehen zudem den Fehler, daß sie anstatt dasjenige gründlich zu untersuchen und zu behandeln, was die Erdbeschreibung im eigentlichen Verstande ausmacht, uns gemeiniglich nur von den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Bewohner Nachrichten liefern. Ich leugne zwar nicht, daß eben dieses in einer vollständigen Länderbeschreibung unumgänglich nothwendig sei: es bleibt aber dabei nicht weniger wahr, daß ein Geograf, der die Nazion, deren Länder er beschreibt, nicht gesehen, nicht in ihrer inneren Verfassung gesehen hat, äußerst behutsam seyn müsse, wenn er, was andere darüber sagten, nachschreibt, weil er sich nur gar zu leicht irren kann.

Die Geschichtsschreiber übergehe ich, weil sie von den Griechen nicht anders als in Beziehung auf andere Völker reden. Herr Güys, der in seiner Geschichte der Republiken nicht das Ansehen haben wollte, daß er andere, als Güilletière[4], Spon[5], Tournefort[6], u.s.w. nachschriebe, suchte etwas besonders darin, daß er mehr unwahres von den Griechen sagte, als die jetzt genannten Männer. Ihm scheint an der historischen Wahrheit so wenig zu liegen, daß er mehr- /S. 33 mals wahres und falsches durch einander wirft, und solche Ungereimtheiten vorbringt, worüber jeder nur obenhin unterrichtete Leser lachen muß. Wie kann er zum Beispiel Glauben verdienen, wenn er in seiner *Republ. d'Athènes* sagt, daß die griechische Nonnen Magdalenen sind.

> Hier sind seine eigene Worte Th. II. Seite 429. oder Tom. 12. der Pariser Ausgabe von 1741: Die griechischen Nonnen haben bei weiten nicht mehr die äußere Regelmäßigkeit der Kalozer, oder Mönche; die meisten sind Magdalenen von einer weniger strengen Regel, die bei zunehmenden Jahren das Gelübd der Tugenden ablegen, die sie in ihrer Jugend nur zu sehr verletzten.

4. Guilletière, G. de la, *Lettres écrites sur une dissertation d'un voyage de Grèce*, publiée par Mr. Spon, Paris 1685.
5. Spon, Jacop, *Voyage d'Italie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, Lyon 1675.
6. Tournefort, Pitton de, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717 (auch in englischer und deutscher Übersetzung).

Sie begeben sich endlich in Klöster, wo sie unter den Augen einer nicht allzustrengen Superiorin ein etwas mehr eingezogenes Leben führen.

Er würde zuverläßig nicht so beleidigend geschrieben haben, wenn er Griechenland selbst bereiset, und alles sorgfältig in Augenschein genommen hätte. Er würde gefunden haben, daß es unter den Griechen keine Nonnenklöster giebt, und daß nur wenige Papadiesen oder Priesterwittwen mit einigen alten meistens schwachen Frauen, die sich mit ihrer Hände-Arbeit nicht mehr nähren können, eingezogen beieinander leben, die Kirchen rein halten, die Lichter darin anzünden, und dergleichen ähnliche Verrichtungen besorgen. Bei einer noch so superfiziellen Kenntniß der griechischen Liturgie würde er sich über den Gottesdienst der Griechen nicht so unwissend und gehässig ausgedrückt, nicht gesagt haben, daß die Griechen /S. 34 stehend und auf Krücken gelehnt ihre Andacht verrichten, und was dergleichen Absurditären mehr sind.

In der Republ. de Lacedem. Th. II. S. 423. oder Tom. 10. sagt er: Sie verrichten ihr Gebet stehend, und auf Stöcke gelehnt, die wie Krücken gestaltet sind, deren sich bei uns die Lahmen bedienen, in der Meinung, daß diese Stellung ehrerbietiger sey. Nie beugen sie in der Kirche die Knie außer am Pfingstfeste; und da thun sie es aus Haß und Verachtung gegen die lateiniche Kirche, um zu zeigen, daß sie die Lehre, die wir vom Aussgange des h. Geistes annehmen, verwerfen, und daß sie bloß aus Abscheu gegen unsere Lehrsätze an diesem Tage äußere Gebräuche von uns annehmen.

Kurz hätte er von dem unermüdeten Fleiße, den er mit so glücklichem Erfolge auf das Studium der alten Griechen wandte, nur ein geringes Theil den heutigen geschenkt, und sich mit ihrer Sprache mit ihren Gebräuchen, Gewohnheiten und gottesdienstlichen Verrichtungen bekannt gemacht, so würde er selbst einen bessern Begriff von ihnen gehabt, und wahrscheinlich billiger von ihnen geschrieben haben.

Die Herren Reisenden haben mit allen ihren Fahrten nach Griechenland und in die Türkei und Levante, mit ihren Beschreibungen der Sitten, Gebräuche, Gewohnheiten, Religionen, und was weiß ich alles, bis diesen Augenblick keinen Nutzen gestiftet, sondern nur Unwahrheiten auf Unwahrheiten gehäuft. Es ist aber kein Wun-

der. Der eine reiste nach Griechenland Kräuter zu sammeln, ein anderer /S. 35 Alterthümer aufzusuchen, ein dritter in Handlungsgeschäften, und so fort, ein jeder in einer andern Absicht, keiner aber in der, die man doch bei einem filosofischen Reisebeschreiber voraussetzt, die Nazion kennen zu lernen. Alle machten indessen ihre Bemerkungen bekannt; alle wollten von den Gebräuchen der Griechen etwas sagen, und da sie von ihnen nichts wußten, als was alltäglich vor ihren Augen vorgegangen war, und wovon sie den Grund nicht einmal untersucht hatten, so begnügten sie sich Mährchen zu erzählen um ihre Leser zu unterhalten. Thevenot[7], Güilletière, Wheler[8], Spon, Tournefort, und einige andere, die ich übergehe, sind unter diesen Reisenden die bekanntesten. Thevenot erzählt im 45. Kapitel des ersten Buchs, und im 43. Kapitel des zweiten Theils seiner Reise in die Levante, mit herzlicher Freude von einem gewissen Gebrauche, den er bei einigen Griechen bemerkt hatte; zeigt aber zu gleicher Zeit, daß er zur Zeit der Auferstehungsfeier bei dem heiligen Grabe vermuthlich selbst nicht gegenwärtig war, sondern das, was er davon schreibt, von irgend einem guten einfältigen Mönch nur gehört hatte. Whelers und Spons ganzes Verdienst besteht darin, daß sie in verschiedenen Stellen ihrer Beschreibung dasjenige, was sie etwa in einem griechischen Dorfe wahrgenommen hatten, nemlich die Unwissenheit einiger Papas oder Priester auf eine eckelhafte Art wiederkäuen, ohne, wie es doch billig gewesen wäre, sich selbst filosofisch zu fragen, ob man von dem, was man in einem einzelnen Dorfe bemerkt, auf eine ganze Nazion schließen könne. Tournefort beschäftigte sich ganz mit dem süßen Gedanken, daß die griechischen Priester und Mönche ihm den Namen und die /S. 36 Eigenschaft eines jeden Krauts, welches er auf ihren Gebirgen fand, würden anzeigen können, und als er sich in seiner Hoffnung betrogen fand, erklärte er die griechische Geistlichkeit für unwissend, und die ganze Nazion für abergläubisch; zum Beweise des letzteren erzählt er den abergläubischen Begriff einiger Griechen von den Gespenstern, als ob die Gespensterhistörchen, die Mährchen von Poltergeistern, vom Wärwolf, vom fliegenden Drachen, und hunderttausend anderen Kindereien unter uns nicht auch Aberglaube wären.

7. Thevenot (Le Cadet), *Relation d'un voyage au Levant*, etc., Paris 1764.
8. Wheler, George, *A journey into Greece*, London 1682 (auch in französischer Übersetzung mehrmals).

Alle diese Herren widerlegte ein griechischer Priester zu Athen einst mündlich in Gegenwart des Herrn de la Güilletière auf eine Art, daß dieser mit seinen Gefährten gänzlich verstummte. Der neue Demosthenes stellte sich nemlich anfangs einfältig, um seine Gäste treuherzig zu machen, und sie dann desto mehr zu überraschen: plötzlich aber zog er darauf die Maske weg, warf ihnen und allen andern Reisenden mit so viel Wärme die Ungerechtigkeit vor, mit der sie in ihren Beschreibungen von Griechenland, ohne Rücksicht auf Redlichkeit und Wahrheit die Welt in Ansehung der Griechen hintergehen, und rettete die Ehre seiner Landsleute dergestalt, daß Güilletiere sich endlich gezwungen sah, im Namen aller um Verzeihung zu bitten[9].

/S. 37 Herr Güys ist unter allen Europäern der einzige, der nach Griechenland reisete, die Griechen kennen zu lernen. Er hatte keinen andern Zweck, als diese Nazion zu studieren und ihre Sitten und Gebräuche zu prüfen. Er lernte zu dem Ende ihre Sprache, lebte unter ihnen, besuchte ihre Gesellschaften und Zusammenkünfte, und nahm, sowohl in der Stadt als auf dem Lande, an ihren Unterhaltungen Theil: kurz er beobachtete mit filosofischer Unparteilichkeit alles was auf ihre sittliche Verfassung Beziehung haben konnte, und zeigte darauf in seiner Vergleichung der alten und heutigen Griechen in der That, daß er die Nazion vollkommen kannte. Wenn alle diejenigen, die gelehrte Reisen gemacht haben, sich nach dem Plan des Herrn Güys verhalten hätten, so würden wir von manchem Volke genauere Kenntnisse haben, als wir jetzt aufzuweisen im Stande sind, und dürften, wenn unsere Schriften den Morgenländern in die Hände fallen, nicht erröthen, so viele Lügen von Völkern geschrieben zu haben, die wir nicht kannten, nicht sahen, oder wenn wir auch sie sahen, höchstens mit dem Auge eines reisenden Handwerksburschen betrachteten.

### *Augen- und Ohrenzeuge*

In einem Zeitraume von zehn Jahren, die ich selbst in Griechenland in verschiedenen Städten zubrachte, habe ich alle Mühe angewandt, mir, sowohl von den Griechen als von den Türken, genaue Kenntniß zu verschaffen. Ich lernte von allen Dingen ihre Sprachen,

9. Wer an diesem Vorgange etwa zweifeln sollte, der kann die ganze Rede des gelehrten Priesters in dem Herrn Güilletière Seite 233-248 selbst lesen.

um mich ihnen unmittelbar und ohne Beihülfe von Dolmetschen, die meistens zu nichts zu gebrauchen sind, verständlich zu machen: und dieser Vortheil, die lange Zeit meines Aufenthalts, Muße und Bequemlichkeit, das alles hat mich in den Stand /S. 38 gesetzt, dasjenige, was ich Ihnen hier von den Griechen überhaupt noch sagen werde, mit Zuverläßigkeit sagen zu können.

Die griechische Nazion, allgemein betrachtet, ist listig, eitel und wankelmüthig. Diese Fehler könnte man allenfalls der harten Sklaverei beimessen, in welcher sie sich seit länger als dreihundert Jahren befindet, wenn wir nicht wüßten, daß sie schon karakteristische Fehler der alten Griechen waren, die Homer, Thucydides, und andere uns so lebhaft schildern. Ueberhaupt ist es auch meine Absicht nicht, mich auf diese Fehler einzulassen; denken Sie sich einen listigen, eitlen, wankelmüthigen Europäer, so haben Sie, was diese drei Stücke betrifft, einen vollkommen richtigen Begriff von der ganzen griechischen Nazion: nur ein paar Worte werde ich von den Vorzügen und Tugenden sagen, durch welche sich die Griechen auszeichnen; Vorzüge und Tugenden, die ihnen, wie ich selbst erfahren habe, im höchsten Grade eigen sind, und diese sind Verstand, Keuschheit, Geduld, und Liebe des Vaterlands.

### *Griechische Tugenden*

Ich glaube nicht, daß irgend eine Nazion sich in Ansehung des Verstandes mit der griechischen messen könne: ich mag einen Jüngling annehmen oder einen alten Mann, so bin ich meiner Vorliebe ohngeachtet allemal gezwungen zu gestehen, daß die Griechen uns hierin unendlich übertreffen. Bleiben wir bei einem unserer Knaben stehen, und zwar nicht gerade aus der niedrigsten, sondern aus der mittlern Klasse, der in keine öffentliche Schule kommt. Er lernet mit unsäglicher Mühe von seinem Vater oder von seiner /S. 39 Mutter ein wenig lesen, und weiter nichts; er redet, weil er sein Kindsweib, oder seine Eltern zu hören gewohnt ist: kommt aber ein Fremder, und redet ihn an, so steht er da wie ein Stück Holz, entläuft, oder sucht, wenn er dazu keine Gelegenheit hat, sich wenigstens zu verbergen. Er spielt mit seinen Kameraden, aber ungeschickt, wie eine Maschine, ohne Leben, und aus bloßer Gewohnheit. Ein griechischer Knabe kann vielleicht nicht lesen: aber wenn man ihn reden hört, so glaubt man den Sohn eines angesehenen

Mannes, und der eine mehr als mittelmässige Erziehung genießt, vor sich zu sehen. Trifft man ihn beim Spiel, so bemerkt man an ihm eine Lebhaftigkeit, ein Feuer, und eine Behendigkeit zum erstaunen. Wann er siegt, so rühmt er sich, und dünkt sich mit der zuversichtlichsten Miene von der Welt eine Person von Wichtigkeit zu seyn: verliert er hingegen, so verliert er nie den Muth; er findet auf der Stelle tausenderlei vorzuwenden, um zu zeigen, daß er nur durch Zufall, nicht durch die Geschicklichkeit seines Gegners überwunden sei, und fordert diesen auf eine andere Zeit und eine bessere Gelegeneheit von neuem auf. Wenn nun ein solcher Knabe gehörig erzogen, und frühzeitig von guten Lehrern zu den Wissenschaften angehalten würde; wenn sein Genie Gelegenheit hätte sich zu entwickeln, wie sich sein Körper entwickelt, würde er nicht an allen Kenntnissen erstaunende Fortschritte machen, und unsere Jugend weit übertreffen?

Ich übertreibe hierin nichts; ich habe zur Bestätigung alles dessen, was ich sage, das Zeugniß, nicht nur aller, die mit dem Geiste der Beobachtung Griechenland durchreiseten, sondern auch derjenigen, die /S. 40 selbst in Europa auf Universitäten und Akademien häufige Gelegenheit hatten es zu beurtheilen. Die Professoren in Padua, in Bologna, in Leipzig sollen auftreten und sagen, ob nicht ein sehr mittelmässiges Talent unter den griechischen Studenten, die ihre Hörsäle besuchten, oft unsere besten Köpfe übertrafen. Haben nicht eben diese Professoren viele Griechen unter ihren Schülern gehabt, Männer von reifen gesetztem Alter, die in kurzer Zeit in den Wissenschaften unglaublich zunahmen? Doch, das ist noch nicht genug; man sahe das gemeine Volk, die Handwerker, die Bauern. Sie werden vielleicht furchtsam seyn, oder uns, da wir an die französischen Moden gewöhnt sind, ihrer Kleidung wegen seltsam scheinen: geht man aber darüber hinaus, und achtet bloß auf ihre Gesichtszüge, so findet man eine offene, edle, interessante Bildung, Augen voll Feuer, gleich Meteoren; sie sehen einem Menschen ins Herz, und wissen was er will, fast ehe er den Mund öffnet; und das alles aus einer angebohrenen Kraft, die die Natur zu allen Zeiten in die Seele des Griechen gelegt zu haben scheint.

Es ist also nicht verloschen jenes karakteristische Genie der alten Griechen, wodurch Europa noch jetzt erleuchtet ist; es ist dem Wesen nach noch fast in seiner ursprünglichen Stärke: allein gedruckt vom eisernen Zepter eines Barbaren, von allen Hülfsmitteln entblößt,

die die Natur zu ihrer Entwickelung gebraucht, liegt es da unfruchtbar und schmachtend in einer todten Unthätigkeit.

/S. 41 Die Keuschheit schätzt man in Griechenland als die erste Tugend. Einem jungen Griechen sieht man viele Fehler nach, so lange er die Keuschheit nicht verletzt, und bedauert ihn nur: wäre er dagegen ein Muster der Vollkommenheit, und er vergeht sich in diesem einzigen Stücke, so kann er darauf rechnen, daß man auf ihn, als den schändlichsten Menschen mit Fingern zeigt. Der Grund, den sie davon anführen, scheint mir sehr richtig zu seyn. Fast alle Fehler, sagen sie, sind angenommen; eine üble Erziehung, Beispiel und Gewohnheit, sind die Quellen der meisten, die sich aber auch wieder ablegen lassen, wenn die Ursach gehoben, oder ins rechte Gleis gebracht wird. Mit der Wollust verhält es sich ganz anders: sie hat ihren Grund in der Natur selbst, und es gehört unendlich viel Ueberwindung dazu, den Stachel des Fleisches zu unterdrücken, da nicht nur junge Leute, sondern auch alte davon hingerissen werden können: hat nun ein Mensch sich einmal verleiten lassen, so ist es fast unmöglich, daß er zurückkehre, und sein Fall wird um so mehr äußerst wichtig, da die Wollust ihn in Gefahr bringt, die größten Verbrechen zu begehen. Von einer solchen Moral haben nun freilich wir keinen Begriff: wir sind an die Ausschweifungen dieser Art bereits so sehr gewohnt, daß wir einen sittsamen jungen Menschen als einen Dummkopf und einen Menschen ohne Welt betrachten.

Wie oft, lieber Himmel! hatte ich Ursach zu erröthen, wann ich mich in Gesellschaft von Griechen befand, wo Männer, Frauen, Jünglinge und Mädchen vermischt beieinander waren; das ehrbare sittsa- /S. 42 me Betragen in ihren Worten und Handlungen bemerkte, und dabei an die Unverschämtheit unserer jungen Leute zurückdachte, die ohne Rücksicht auf den Ort und die Gesellschaft sich von ihrer Leidenschaft oft so sehr beherrschen lassen, daß sie den umstehenden zum Gespött werden. Mehr als einmal wunderte ich mich bei mir selbst, wie es zugehe, daß eine Nazion, ohne, wie wir es nennen, vortreffliche Erziehung, ohne eine Menge moralischer Bücher, der Keuschheit so sehr ergeben sei. Liegt etwa, dachte ich, der Grund in den Gesetzen der Morgenländer, nach welchen die Weiber wenig mehr als Sklavinnen sind? Gewiß nicht. Die Morgenländer suchen nichts weniger als sich durch Enthaltsamkeit vom weiblichen Geschlecht einen Namen zu machen, da sie außer

mehr als einem Weibe noch so viele Beischläferinnen unterhalten, als ein jeder will oder kann. Aber die griechische Jugend, der die Natur so vorzügliche Geistesgaben, eine außerordentliche Lebhaftigkeit, und eine feste dauerhafte Leibesbeschaffenheit verlieh, und die unter einem mehr warmen als kalten Himmelsstriche wohnt, sollte doch ungleich mehr Trieb zur Wollust fühlen als die unsrige, die kein so warmes Blut hat, und ein kälteres Klima bewohnt, und gleichwohl finden wir gerade das Gegentheil: woher diese entgegengesetzte Wirkung der Ursachen?—Eine Folge der Erziehung ist es, mein Freund, und des Beispiels. Die Griechen flößen ihren Kindern von der Wiege an eine Liebe zur Keuschheit als der ersten Tugend ein, und geben ihnen nie, auch nicht einmal unvorsichtiger Weise, ein ärgerliches Beispiel; ja selbst die ausschweifendsten unter ihnen hüten sich in Beiseyn der Jugend nur etwas unanständiges zu reden. Unsere Väter sind so /S. 43 gewissenhaft nicht. Wenn auch die meisten ihren Kindern nicht mit ausdrücklichen Worten sagen, daß die Keuschheit eine Schimäre sei, so lernen doch diese aus ihrem Beispiele schon so viel, daß es sich für einen jungen Menschen nicht schicke, den Reitzen und Lockungen des schönen Geschlechts zu widerstehen. Kaum fängt ein Jüngling an mit der Welt bekannt zu werden, so muß er tanzen, spielen, ins Theater und in Gesellschaften gehen, damit er seinen Witz und seine Talente und Geschicklichkeiten zeigen kann, die sonst verborgen blieben, und keine Gelegenheit hätten sich in ihrem ganzen Umfange zu entwikkeln. Ich sage nichts von den Folgen unserer Gesellschaften, unserer Bälle, unserer *parties de plaisir,* vom Einfluß des Beispiels, welches Männer von jedem Alter der Jugend geben; ich müßte für Väter und Erzieher erröthen: erlauben Sie mir bloß die Bemerkung zu machen, daß nichts einen jungen Menschen so sehr zur Wollust reitzt, als der zu frühe, wie man ihn nennt, ungezwungene Umgang mit dem schönen Geschlechte, die gewissen verstohlenen Blicke, die wir so naif finden, und das schalkhafte unschuldige Händespiel. Bei der ersten Gelegenheit, wo er sich frei sieht, überläßt er sich blindlings seinen Trieben, und weder Furcht, noch was immer für eine andere Betrachtung hält ihn zurück; vielmehr ist ihm das tägliche Beispiel anderer noch ein Sporn mehr, der ihn antreibt.

Einen Griechen kann man mit nichts mehr beleidigen, als wenn man ihn üppig, wollüstig, oder, wie der eigentliche Ausdruck ist, einen Hurentreiber nennt. Unsere jungen Leute werden den /S. 44

guten Tropf bedauern, ihn auslachen; denn sie selbst finden sich durch dergleichen Benennungen nichts weniger als beleidigt. Wer unter ihnen sich seiner Ausschweifungen nicht rühmt, nicht die Zahl aller Stadtnymfen, und von wenigstens dreißigen die Namen, Wohnungen und vorzüglichen Eigenschaften anzugeben weiß; nicht alle Morgen die *anecdotes scandaleuses* des vorhergehenden Tages erzälen kann; nicht alle Jahr wenigstens zweimal an der Modekrankheit danieder liegt; der ist nicht brav, ein Mensch ohne Welt, ein Stockfisch. Glückliches Griechenland, beneide uns nicht! in deiner Sklaverei, bei deiner Unwißenheit und Armut ist deine Jugend unschuldig und sittsam: und wir können bei unserer gepriesenen Freiheit, mit aller unserer Weisheit, mit allen unsern moralischen Erziehungssystemen der Ausschweifung der unsrigen nicht wehren, sie nicht in den Schranken der Ehrbarkeit und Keuschheit erhalten.

### *Geduld als Vaterlandsliebe*

Die dritte karakteristische Tugend der griechischen Nazion ist die Geduld, und darin werden Sie ihr einen sehr hohen Grad nicht streitig machen können, wenn Sie bedenken, wie viele harte Prüfungen der Geduld sie in einer harten Sklaverei durch vierthalbhundert Jahre auszustehen gehabt haben mag. Wollten sie mir einwenden, die Geduld der Griechen als Sklaven betrachtet sei nicht freiwillig, sondern erzwungen, und folglich für keine Tugend zu rechnen, so bitte ich, mir zu sagen, was denn die ganze Nazion abgehalten hat, daß sie nicht längst den christlichen Glauben verlaßen, und den Mahometismus angenommen, um ihre Freiheit zu erlangen und ein ruhiges beque- /S. 45 mes Leben zu genießen? Der unwißende Pöbel, und in dem was die Religion betrifft ist der Pöbel aller Nazionen unwißend, würde sich ja um so viel leichter bequemt haben die Religion zu verändern, da die Apostaten nicht nur mit offenen Armen aufgenommen, sondern belont und mit Reichtümern und Ehren überhäuft werden: allein trotz allem was die Griechen leiden, und sie sind stolz auf ihre Leiden, nimmt kein Grieche, durch Versprechungen gelockt, oder aus Furcht getrieben, den mahometanischen Glauben an. Ich sage kein Grieche, nicht deswegen, daß sich unter ihnen durchaus keiner fände, der, wäre es auch nicht der Freiheit wegen, dennoch aus Furcht, aus Zwang, vielleicht auch aus Liederlichkeit, seinen Glauben verleugnete, sondern verhältniß-

weise gegen die Menge der abtrünnigen Europäer. Rechnet man nemlich wie viel die Griechen zu erdulden haben, und wie wenig dagegen die europäischen Sklaven in der Türkei, die doch so häufig übertreten, so kann man in so weit mit Recht sagen, daß kein Grieche abtrünnig wird; und dieser Leichtsinn der Europäer mag Schuld seyn, daß man von ihrer Standhaftigkeit im Glauben nicht die beste Meinung hat. Wie ist das auch anders möglich? wenn die europäischen Sklaven, sowohl in der Barbarei als an vielen andern Orten, ihre Schuldigkeit gethan, das ist, ihre bestimmte Arbeit verrichtet haben, so wird ihnen nicht übel begegnet, sondern man liebt sie vielmehr, oder bedauert sie wenigstens: und ohngeachtet alles dieses, ohngeachtet sie zu keiner andern Arbeit angehalten werden, als wozu sie Geschicklichkeit haben, und sich bei einer leidlichen Behandlung mit der Hoffnung trösten können, von menschenfreund- /S. 46 lichen Paters losgekauft zu werden, lassen sie sich doch bald durch den Reitz der Freiheit bethören und werden Renegaten.

Wenn Mahomet der zweite, als er sich Griechenland unterwarf, den Einfall gehabt hätte, den Griechen ihre Religionsfreiheit zu nehmen, so wären sie jetzt nicht Sklaven, sondern herrschten noch. Jener falsche Religionseifer, eine der vornehmsten Ursache des Umsturzes des Morgenländischen Kaisertums, der aldann aber nicht falsch, sondern gerecht gewesen seyn würde, hätte, wo nicht gleich, doch in wenigen Jahren nach ihrer Unterdrückung die Metamorfose hervorgebracht. Mit einem Worte, man lasse den Griechen ihre Religion, ihre Gewohnheiten und Gebräuche, so kann man mit ihnen machen was man will; ein Beispiel dieser Toleranz gaben bereits die Römer, indem sie eben dieser Nazion in den Stücken alle mögliche Freiheit ließen.

Der eigentliche Grund dieser Geduld der Griechen liegt in ihrer Vaterlandsliebe, die oft bis zur Ausschweifung lebhaft ist, und sie zu ungerechten Urteilen verleitet. Ein Grieche zum Beispiel, der in fremde Länder reiset, und dort so viele prächtige Städte sieht, oder andere Merkwürdigkeiten antrift, die er nicht hoffen darf in seinem Vaterlande auch nur im Traume zu sehen, wird freilich alles loben, aber auch sogleich hinzusetzen: bei mir ist es gleichwohl besser. Die Luft, die er in seinem Geburtsorte einathmet, ist ihm schätzbarer als alle Kostbarkeiten der Welt; auch kann man sich bei einem Griechen nicht leichter in Gunst setzen, als wenn man sein ei- /S. 47 genes Vaterland gegen Griechenland verachtet. Wären sie aber auch,

eigentlich betrachtet, nicht in dem Grade für ihr eigenes Land eingenommen, was könnte sie hindern auszuwandern und in fremden Ländern ihre Freiheit zu genießen, besonders diejenigen, die an den Seeküsten wohnen? Es ist wahr, das einige ausgewandert sind, und sich in Ungarn, Wien, Triest, Venedig, und anderen Orten niedergelaßen haben: allein ihre Zahl ist so gering, daß sie in keine Betrachtung zu ziehen ist. Zudem rede ich nicht von denen, die sich ihrer Geschäfte halber in Europa aufhalten, sondern nur von solchen, die mit ihrer ganzen Familie ihr Vaterland verließen und sich einen bessern Wohnplatz suchten; und selbst von diesen, die meistens vom festen Lande sind, würden die wenigsten aus ihrer Heimat gewichen seyn, wenn nicht ihre Bedrückung den äußersten Grad erreicht hätte. Man stelle sich die Grausamkeiten und das Metzeln unter ihnen vor, welches sie von den unmenschlichen Türken im letzten Kriege mit den Rußen erlitten, besonders in Morea, wo einige unter ihnen, die sich zur Unzeit mit der Hoffnung schmeichelten, daß die Stunde ihrer Erlösung gekommen sei, die Waffen ergriffen. Wer dieses schauervolle Blutbad angesehen hätte, müste gewiß gestehen, daß, wenn Europäern so etwas wiederfahren wäre, kein einziger dort geblieben seyn würde, weil er nicht Geduld genug gehabt hätte für sein Vaterland solche Grausamkeiten zu leiden. Und von den Griechen, die doch noch so vieles mehr als diesen Auftritt ausgestanden hatten und keine bessere Aussicht vor sich sahen, entfernten sich gleichwohl nur die wenigen deren Tod ganz unvermeidlich war, wenn sie unter dem Joche blieben.

### *Verachtung als Widerstand*

/S. 48 Hier mein Freund, haben sie nun auch, so weit es die Gränzen eines Briefes erlaubten, eine Skizze vom wahren Karakter der Nazion der heutigen Griechen. Der Raum erlaubte mir nur weniges von derselben, und das wenige nur obenhin zu berühren: sie werden sich indessen bei aller kürze in Stand gesetzt sehen, die Züge wahrzunemen und zu vergleichen, und dann zu entscheiden, was von den ärgerlichen Anmerkungen des Brünner Zeitungsschreibers zu halten sei. Wenn es mir sonst erlaubt wäre, mich der Sache der beleidigten Nazion öffentlich anzunemen, und in einer ausführlichen Rechtfertigung derselben die Achtung, die ich für sie habe, an den Tag zu legen, wie leicht wäre es mir, den boshaften Pasquillanten

vor der ganzen Welt zu Schanden zu machen: da aber, wie gesagt, die Griechen selbst zu stolz sind, und es immer waren, die Verläumdung zum Stillschweigen zu bringen, so ahme ich sie um so eher in ihrer Großmuth nach, und überlasse ihn der Verachtung, die jeder unbefangene Leser seines Artikels für ihn empfinden muß; mit Freuden nehme ich an Ihrem Beispiele wahr, daß es an solchen bei Ihnen nicht fehlt.

Leben sie wohl: ich bin

Lemberg, den 15. Mai 1788.

Ihr Freund.
G. V.

# Schreiben

aus

# Lemberg

an den

# Herrn N. N. in Wien

über

einen in der Brünner Zeitung Nro. 27. vom ersten April dieses Jahrs enthaltenen Artikel

# die Griechen

betreffend.

Wien, 1788.

*Das Titelblatt des "Schreibens aus Lemberg" (Wien, Universitätsbibliothek).*

Dienstags, den 1 April.

## Inländische Nachrichten.

Oesterreich, vom 28 März.

Der k. k. Hof hat dem Vernehmen nach endlich dieser Tage durch ein zu Livorno angekommenes Schiff, Depeschen von Seiten des Freiherrn von Herbert erhalten; und seitdem heißt es, der Großweyr habe ihm nach vielem Berathschlagen bedeutet, die türkische Hauptstadt binnen 24 Stunden zu verlassen, worauf derselbe mit einem französischen Schiffe von dort abgesegelt sey.

Folgendes ist die Liste unserer kommandirenden Generale in dem itzigen Türkenkriege: 1) In Kroatien und Dalmatien mit Einbegriff des Littorale, kommandirt der Herr General F. M. L. de Vins; 2) im Königreiche Slavonien und in Syrmien der Herr General F. M. L. Graf von Mitrowsky; 3) Das Hauptkommando der großen Armee in Niederungarn hat der Herr Feldmarschall Graf von Lasci, in dessen Abwesenheit der Herr General von Clairfait das Kommando führt, und unter ihm der Baron von Alvinzy; 4) im Bannate von Temeswar der Herr General F. M. L. von Wartensleben; 5) in Siebenbürgen Herr General von Fabris; 6) in Pohlen und der Buckowina der Prinz von Coburg.

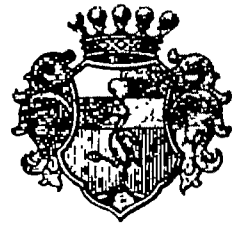


*Das Frontispiz der "Brünner Zeitung" vom 1. April 1788 (Wiener Stadtbibliothek).*

FRONTISPICE du Tome 1er

J'écris, tandis que mon Compagnon, Dessine

*Selten waren Griechenland-Reisende als Beschreiber so gewissenhaft wie der hier abgebildete Franzose Guys, dessen "Voyage littéraire de la Grèce" im "Schreiben aus Lemberg" mit Lob und Tadel rezensiert wird.*




*Das Exlibris des Wiener Universitätsexemplars; der Besitzer Theodor von Karajan (1810-1878) ist der Urgroßvater des berühmten Dirigenten Herbert von Karajan. Zur Genealogie und Geschichte der Familie siehe: P. K. Enepekides, "Μακεδονικὲς πόλεις καὶ οἰκογένειες, 1750-1930", S. 231-272, Athen 1984.*

*MILENKO KARANOVICH*

# HIGHER EDUCATION IN SERBIA DURING THE CONSTITUTIONALIST REGIME, 1838-1858

*Education makes people*
*easy to lead, but difficult*
*to drive; easy to govern*
*but impossible to enslave.*

HENRY PETER BROUGHAM

Serbia began to reorganize and modernize herself after 1830, the year when she was granted the status of an autonomous state. Special attention was paid to education, particularly to secondary and higher, in the time of the so-called Constitutionalists (*ustavobranitelji*), a small group of distinguished Serbs who ruled Serbia through the *Soviet* (council of senators) for twenty years (1838-1858).

Since immediately after 1830 Serbia had only a few men of her own who were even literate, let alone educated, she had to entrust virtually all the responsible administrative and diplomatic functions to the Serbs from Vojvodina who lived within the framework of the Austrian Empire and had much more opportunity for economic and cultural development than the Serbs in Serbia. Under the influence of the enlightend absolutism of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, Vojvodina showed significant progress in her economic and cultural-educational development at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. For example, the first Serbian gymnasium was opened in Sremski Karlovci in 1791, a cultural-literary society called the *Matica Srbska* was founded in 1826, in 1791 the Serbs from Vojvodina began to publish their first newspaper in Vienna, and so on. In addition, their young men had an opportunity to be educated in the fine Austrian and Hungarian schools and universities.

However, intellectuals from Vojvodina were able to meet Serbia's needs for only several years. In time she became an organized state with a large number of governmental institutions which required increased bureaucratic apparatus and educated Serbs from Vojvodina could no longer completely

meet those needs, especially for high state officials. In order to ease the existing problem, Serbia began to train her most promising native young men. None of the existing schools could prepare them for the highest state positions and therefore the government decided to establish an institution for higher education which would in time expand into a university.

The first school of higher education in Serbia the so-called *Velika škola* was founded in Belgrade in September, 1808. Due to changes in the war with Turks which had been going on since 1804, the *Velika škola* had to discontinue its work at the end of the first academic year 1808-1809. It resumed its operation in 1810 and existed until 1813.

It cannot be said that the *Velika škola* in Belgrade was a real school of higher education. It was founded to fill a special need of the state and was a specially combined mixture of a gymnasium (high school) and of a vocational school. Despite its short duration, the *Velika škola* formed a tradition of higher education in Serbia and upon that tradition the first real institution of higher education was founded.

The seeds of the institution for higher education were sown at the end of Prince Miloš's regime (1830-1839), and the Constitutionalists expanded and improved it so that it indeed became "the germ of a university" as some educated Serbs proudly called it[1]. According to the archival records, Stefan Stefanović-Tenka, Secretary of Education, was the initiator of the establishment of the institution. On September 11/12, 1838, he sent a letter to Prince Miloš advising him "to elevate the gymnasium (secondary school) to the level of a lyceum and to bring capable people from Germany (Austria) to teach philosophical subjects"[2].

His suggestion was accepted and in October of the same year the Lyceum, as the highest school in Serbia, was opened in Kragujevac[3]. Instruction at the Lyceum was to last for two years and the graduation from the gymnasium, which at that time had only four grades, was a prerequisite for enrollment. In the first academic year, 1838-39, sixteen students were enrolled and after two years thirteen of them graduated[4].

1. Archibald A. Paton, *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family* (London, 1845), p. 283.

2. Archiv Srbije, the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade (Hereafter referred to AS), Knjaževska kancelarija, the Prince's Office, KK XXXVIII—95. Since almost all the documents used in this work are dated according to Old Style or the Julian calendar, which in the nineteenth century was twelve days behind New Style or the Gregorian calendar, I used both, one after the other (e.g., January 1/13, 1846 or October 30/November 11, 1846).

3. *Sto godina Filozofskog fakulteta* (Beograd, 1963), p. 10.

4. Kosta Branković, "Razvitak Velike škole", *Glasnik* SUD, knj. 18 (Beograd, 1865), p.20.

Since Prince Miloš was not successful in bringing professors from Vojvodina, gymnasium teachers in Kragujevac, Petar Radovanović and Atanasije Teodorović, were appointed the first lyceum professors in Serbia[5]. After teaching only a short time they were replaced by Isidor Stojanović and Kosta Branković. Although better qualified than their predecessors, they also were not sufficiently qualified for such high positions. Stojanović had graduated in philosophy and had begun to study law; Branković had studied law and had graduated from the seminary in Sremski Karlovci[6].

Like other Serbian schools the Lyceum in Kragujevac was a copy of Austro-Hungarian lyceums with some small adaptations to Serbian conditions and needs. Its first curriculum was presented by Secretary Stefanović to Prince Miloš on September 18/30, 1838, and he accepted and confirmed it. According to the first curriculum, the following courses had to be taught in the Lyceum: philosophy, general history, mathematics, natural law, European, statistics, drawing, German language, French language for beginners, and the Bible[7].

The main tasks of this institution, according to its founders' conception, were to be: the preparation of various kinds of specialists, the spread of education, and training of future scientists and writers. Unfortunately, Serbia did not have necessary working conditions to realize this conception and in the beginning of its operation the Lyceum limited the scope of its work to the preparation of future bureaucrats.

During the Constitutionalist regime the Lyceum was expanded, better qualified professors were hired, quality of students improved, new curricula introduced, old departments reorganized and new opened, textbooks published, and laboratories established. Significant changes in its operation were already noticeable in the academic year 1839-40. In addition to Stojanović and Branković, several new professors were appointed—Atanasije Nikolić, Antonije Arnot, Aleksije Okoljski, and Aschyncellus Gavrilo Popović[8]. At that time the Lyceum was a two year school and it offered the following courses—in the first year: Christianity and Gospel, Eastern Orthodox religion, introduction to philosophy, logic, mathematics, general European history,

5. Natalija and Platon Dimić, "Nastava u Beogradskom liceju u toku prve dve godine njegovog postojanja", *Savremena škola*, Nos. 1-2 (Beograd, 1959), p. 58.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

7. Ilija A. Pržić, "Osnivanje Pravnog fakulteta u Srbiji", *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke*, knj. XLI, Nos. 1-2 (Beograd, 1940), p. 3.

8. Vladimir Grujić, "Više obrazovanje u Srbiji za prvih sedam decenija XIX veka", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, knj. XIV (Beograd, 1967), pp. 208-209.

and geodesy; in the second year: instructions in Christianity, philosophy, physics, practical geometry, general history, and agricultural economy. German, French and drawing were taught in both years[9].

In the first year of its operation, the Lyceum was under direct control of the Ministry of Education. However, in the academic year 1839-40 direct control was entrusted to a professor whose official title was that of rector. Ordinarily, the rector was elected every year by his fellow Lyceum professors and confirmed by the Prince. Atanasije Nikolić, the first rector, was not elected by his colleagues, but appointed by the Ministry of Education[10]. On October 1/13, 1839, on the first day of classes, he made a speech to a group of students, professors, officials, and ordinary citizens. He began it with the motto: "Stand, stand with fear because the place on which you are standing is sacred!"[11]. Although he was not a Serb from Serbia, but a Serb from Vojvodina, his speech was permeated with Serbian patriotism. He said in part:

> We shall spare no effort, we shall spare no sacrifice, we shall use all means to bring and to direct you, dear hope of our fatherland, to a real way of benefaction. Our greatest happiness will be to see you in this country inspired by good deeds and adorned with wreaths of great wisdom, and to hand you over as such glorious young men to our dear fatherland and into your parents' arms... Your dear parents handed you to us from their arms and now we are your father and mother. If you are willing to be useful to our dearest fatherland, and to yourselves, and to be comfort, happiness, and help to your parents, have full confidence in us and follow our counsel[12].

Future rectors followed Nikolić's example and greeted new students in the beginning of every school year and in time it became a tradition of this institution.

In the first two years of its operation, the Lyceum did not have a separate building but shared one with the gymnasium. This arrangement lasted until the end of the academic year 1839-40 when the Lyceum was moved to a former military arsenal[13].

When in 1839 the capital of Serbia was moved from Kragujevac to Bel-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
10. K. Branković, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
11. Cited by Milen Nikolić, "Licej", *Iz prošlosti Kragujevca* (Subotica, 1926), p. 13.
12. *Novine Srbske*, No. 45 (October 14, 1839).
13. I. A. Pržić, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

grade it virtually destroyed the cultural life of Kragujevac. In a short period of time Belgrade became the main cultural center of Serbia and almost all cultural institutions were located there. For that reason the professors of the Kragujevac Lyceum wished to move it to Belgrade. In their request to the Ministry of Education the following reasons can be singled out: the existence of the printing house in Belgrade, greater access to necessary books, the opportunity to mix with educated people and to learn a great deal from them, and the ease for them to publish articles in the *Serbian News and Podunavka,* the first and only paper in Serbia which devoted most of its space to her cultural, literary, and educational life[14]. Their request was granted and on June 15/July 7, 1841. Prince Michael ordered that the Lyceum be moved to Belgrade at the end of the academic year 1840-41. It was moved in the beginning of August, 1841. Since there was not a special building built for the Lyceum, it operated in a communal house until 1844, when it was moved to Princess Ljubica's palace and remained there until 1863[15].

In July of 1840 the first generation of the Lyceum students, thirteen of them, graduated. They received mainly general education and by it somewhat expanded their knowledge obtained in the gymnasium. With the desire of preparing these young men much better for responsible jobs in the state, particularly for juridical positions, Stefan Radičević, Secretary of Justice and Education, suggested to the *Soviet,* on August 1/13, 1940, to introduce law courses for these graduates "in order to improve and extend that knowledge which they received till now so thay would become excellent and educated members of our fatherland"[16]. His suggestion was accepted and on September 6/18 of the same year Prince Michael decreed the opening of courses in law and political science. These courses were to be taught for one year[17]. The introduction of these courses is not only important because they marked the beginning of juridical education in Serbia, but because they changed the general character of the Lyceum. It began to lose the character of a school for general education and became a higher professional institution.

Since Serbia did not have as yet qualified men for new positions at home, she had to seek them abroad. One position was filled fast. Jovan Raić, renow-

14. Svetimir Nikolajević, "Kraljevsko-srpska Velika škola za pedeset njenih godina", *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića,* knj. XII (Beograd, 1891), p. 208.

15. I. A. Pržić, *op. cit.,* pp. 16-17.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 4.

17. *Ibid.*

ned attorney from Novi Sad, who should have come to the Lyceum as a professor in 1839 and had not come because of political tension and unrest in Serbia, was elected the first professor of the new department[18]. For the second position an open competition was announced in the *Serbian News* of August 3/15, 1840[19]. Three lawyers from Vojvodina, Jovan Sterija Popović and Dimitrije Našić from Vršac, and Marko Marinković from Sremski Karlovci, applied for that position. Jovan S. Popović, who was the best qualified and one of the best educated men in Vojvodina at that time, was selected. His application shows that he graduated in philosophy and Hungarian law with exellent grades, passed the bar examination with honor, studied Austrian law since 1835 as a certified attorney, and presented law suits. In addition, he devoted a great deal of this adult life to literary activity writing in the Serbian and the Latin languages[20]. His selection was a significant step in the history of Serbian education and cultural life. He contributed a great deal to it as a lyceum professor, and after 1842, as a Secretary of Education.

Jovan S. Popvić began a teach his course in natural law on November 1/13, 1840. The manuscript of his lecture was preserved and Radovan D. Lukić, Law School Professor at the University of Belgrade, has studied and analyzed it. According to him, Popović was "a follower of the school of natural law and then popular variant which considered that virtually the entire substance of law can be directly shown from human reason". In Professor Lukić's opinion Popović was "basically a liberal". It can be seen", he points out, "from his understanding of freedom of thought, his view on the limits of state power, the responsibilities of employees, the right of defense, international relations, parental power, and many other viewpoints"[21].

Jovan Raić did not begin to teach his courses in political science until the next academic year. In the meantime Ignjat Stanimirović was his substitute, offering a course in statistics. He also came from Vojvodina with a solid education. He had completed the gymnasium in his native city, Subotica, and graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy and from the Law school in Kežmarok in Hungary (today in Czechoslovakia)[22].

18. Vladimir Grujić, "Prvi profesori 'Pravoslovnog' fakulteta na liceju u Kragujevcu, i Beogradu", *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu* (October-December, 1955), p. 449.

19. *Novine Srbske*, No. 31 (August 3, 1840).

20. V. Grujić, "Prvi profesori 'Pravoslovnog' fakulteta na liceju u Kragujevcu i Beogradu", *op. cit.*, pp. 449-450.

21. Radovan D. Lukić, "Jovan Sterija-Popović profesor prirodnog prava na Liceju", *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, No. 1 (Beograd, 1957), pp. 13-14.

22. V. Grujić, "Prvi profesori 'Pravoslovnog' fakulteta na liceju u Kragujevcu i Beogradu", *op. cit.*, pp. 451-452.

The creation of various institutions as grounds for the organization and modernization of the state was the chief preoccupation of the Constitutionalists in their internal policy. During their reign significant progress was made in the economic development of Serbia, the first judicial and administrative mechanism was established, numerous reforms were carried out, the first liberal ideas were brought in, a solid foundation for the educational and cultural institutions was laid, and the first group of native intellectuals who were educated in the country and abroad emerged.

With the modernization of the state the demand for well-educated lawyers was great and therefore consideration was given to extending instruction in the Department of Law to two years after the first year of its operation. However, because of numerous difficulties which Serbia had to cope with, the opening of the second year of this department was postponed until the academic year 1843-44. Then, the second year was opened and the following courses were taught: Roman law, criminal law, and court procedure. Because of the students poor educational background, particularly in Latin, the teaching of Roman law had to be discontinued after the first semester. Instead of it, the Serbian Civil Code, the first law of that sort in Serbia, was introduced. Maksim Simonović, was hired to teach it. Sergije Nikolić, who had taught Roman law, would later become a professor of public economy[23].

With the opening of the second year in the Department of Law in 1843, instruction at the Lyceum lasted for four years—two years in the Department of Philosophy and two years in the Department of Law. Since the Department of Philosophy had a general educational character, everyone who wished to continue his education in the Department of Law was obliged to graduate from the Department of Philosophy in order to receive a strong background for the study of purely legal disciplines.

Before 1844, when the first of the more important laws concerning the Lyceum was promulgated, no significant changes were made in its teaching plan and program. True, there were some attempts to introduce several new courses in the Department of Philosophy, but they remained nothing more than attempts. For instance, on February 25, 1841 (O.S.), the Ministry of Education sent a letter to the *Soviet* pointing out the need to introduce "esthetics, as the subjects of refined and beautiful taste, moral philosophy in a general sense, and Slavic grammar" into the Lyceum[24]. The *Soviet* answered this letter on March 4/16, 1841. It agreed with the Ministry that these subjects

23. *Ibid.*, p. 197; AS, L-124/1844.
24. O. S.—Old Style; AS, Sovjet, 75/1841.

"could be useful enough but because of the condition of our finances", it was pointed out in its answer, "it is now impossible for the *Soviet* to approve this suggestion of the Ministry"[25].

The first law regarding both departments of the Lyceum was issued in the "Organization of Public School Education" of September 23/October 5, 1844, under the title "Lyceum of Great School". Jovan S. Popović, a former professor of this institution, was its author. This law contained the curriculum and according to it the following courses were to be taught: Instructions in Christianity, basic philosophy, logic, general history, mathematics, ethics, general philosophy, and French in the first year of the Department of Philosophy; and in the second year: Instructions in Christianity, metaphysics, ethics, general history, history of Serbia, advanced mathematics, architecture, Slavic philology with esthetics, physics, and the French language[26]. If this curriculum is compared with the first curriculum of 1838, considerable changes can be seen. In the first year of study, two new courses, esthetics and philology, were introduced, and in the second year five new courses were added: metaphysics, ethics, history of Serbia, architecture, and Slavic philology with esthetics, geodesy, the art of drawing and the German language were omitted in the curriculum of 1844. It is not known why German, as one of the most important courses for students who wanted to continue their study abroad, was abolished.

According to the new curriculum the following courses in the Department of Law were to be taught: natural law, political science, public economy, finance, statistics of main European states and Serbia, public law of Serbia, canon law of the Eastern (Orthodox) church, and French in the first year; and in the second: Serbian civil law, criminal law, court civil and criminal procedures, and public law[27].

The Lyceum curriculum of 1844, especially for the Department of Law, was more or less a copy, with certain adaptations to the Serbian conditions, of the curriculum issued for the Budapest Lyceum in 1806. The courses prescribed for the Department of Law are almost identical with courses prescribed by this Hungarian curriculum. The only difference was that in the Budapest Lyceum those subjects were taught in three years, while in Belgrade Lyceum they were condensed in two years and Hungarian law was omitted[28].

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 2 (Beograd, 1845), pp. 338-345.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340.

28. Pravoš Slankamenac, "Osnivanje i karakter Beogradskog liceja", *Savremena Škola*, Nos. 3-4 (Beograd, 1952), p. 20.

The law for the Lyceum of 1844 determined that nine professors were to teach prescribed courses. The archival documents show that all of them came to Serbia from abroad—seven from Vojvodina, one from Hungary, and one from Poland[29].

The curriculum of the Belgrade Lyceum was not altered significantly until July 28/August 9, 1848. Then, Prince Alexander Karadjordjević decreed that a new course entitled "political economy, finance and business disciplines" had to be introduced in the Department of Law in the academic year 1848-49[30]. This course was entrusted to Konstantin P. L. Cukić who was the first professor at the Lyceum born and partially educated in Serbia. Cukić was born in Karanovac, today's Kraljevo, in 1826. He attended elementary school in his native city and in Kruševac. The first three years of gymnasium he completed privatly in Kragujevac, and the other three in Vienna. After that, he studied philosophy in Vienna, and political science and economy at the University of Heidelberg, where he received his doctorate[31].

In the same month the second Serb was appointed to a professorship position at the Lyceum. It was Dimitrije Matić who taught Serbian Civil Code, civil court procedure, and public law[32]. Despite the fact that Matić was not born in Serbia, he can rightly be considered one of the first native Lyceum professors because he received his higher education in Serbia, was a scholarship holder of the Serbian government, and considered Serbia his homland. Matić was born in Ruma (Srem) in 1821. He strated his secondary education in the Sremski Karlovci gymnasium and completed it in Kragujevac. He graduated in philosophy and law from the Kragujevac Lyceum and was one of the first lawyers to receive a law degree from this school. After that he entred civil service where he stayed until 1845 when, as a sholarship holder of the Serbian government, was sent to Germany to continue his education. He studied law and philosophy at the university of Berlin and received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Leipzig[33].

29. AS, Ministarstvo prosvete, the Ministry of Education (hereafter referred to MPs) VII-77/1855; Pera Polovina, *Udžbenici francuskog jezika kod Srba do 1914. godine* (Beograd, 1964), p. 28.

30. AS, MPs, III-228/1848; *Srbska novine*, Nos. 79-80 (August 31 - September 3, 1848).

31. V. Grujić, "Više obrazovanje u Srbiji za prvih sedam decenija XIX veka", *op. cit.*, p. 239; Milan Dj. Miličević, *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi u srpskog naroda novijega doba* (Beograd, 1888), p. 799.

32. AS, MPs, IV-257/1848.

33. V. Grujić, "Vise obrazovanje u Srbiji za prvih sedam decenija XIX veka", *op. cit.*, p. 239.

By obtaining a teaching position in the highest school in Serbia, Matić fulfilled his student's dream. After learning of his appointment he wrote in his "Diary" on August 1/13, 1848:

> So my wish is fulfilled, I am also confirmed by the Prince to be a professor of my fatherland here at the Serbian Lyceum. Thus, from now on I will work with young Serbian souls; they are the field of my work, oh, indeed, a blessed field[34].

Young, well-educated, and enthusiastic about their work, Cukić and Matić revitalized teaching at the Lyceum by bringing innovation into its operation, introducing various new methods of teaching with which thay had become acquainted during their studies in the West. They began to teach their courses freely and tried to permeate them with liberal ideas. Since the Constitutionalist oligarchy strongly opposed the penetration of liberalism into Serbia, Cukić's and Matić's teaching careers were quite short. They were relieved of their professorial duties in the middle of 1851. On July 14/26, 1851, Dimitrije Matić was appointed secretary at the Appelate Court, and on August 17/29 of the same year Konstantin Cukić was appointed secretary in the Ministry of Education[35]. Two years later, in December 1853, Cukić was given a professorship in the Lyceum. He retained that position until January 25/February 9, 1856, when by Prince Alexander's decree, he was appointed personnel chief in the Ministry of Education[36] However, Matić, who liked the teaching profession so much, was never again given an opportunity to convey his knowledge and ideas to young Serbs. He had to be satisfied with a high administrative position and to convey his knowledge, experience and ideas to the younger generation through his scholarly and literary works.

By the transfer of the first two native professors educated in the West, the penetration of liberal ideas and political principles was slowed down somewhat, but not stopped. As in many other countries, they found their way to the young intellectuals, most often through returnees from the West European universities, who wanted "to inspire Serbian youths with the same ideas which stirred their interest"[37].

In the second half of the Constitutionalist regime the number of native lyceum professors was gradually increassed but their professional careers, with few exceptions, did not have a long duration. Most often, after a year

34. "Matićev dnevnik", IBR 595 (University Library "Svetozar Marković", Beograd).
35. M. Dj. Milićević, *op. cit.*, pp. 332 and 800.
36. AS, MPs, II-73/1856.
37. Jovan Skerlić, *Omladina i njena književnost, 1848-1871* (Beograd, 1925), p. 16.

or two of teaching, they were transferred to administrative positions and their positions were filled by foreigners, usually Serbs from Vojvodina[38]. The Belgrade Lyceum benefited a great deal from the training of native professors because they were young men full of enthusiasm for work, with a solid education and a liberal understanding; they were also advocated of modern teaching methods. In addition, they were closer to the students and understood their problems, needs, and abilities better because they had to cope with similar difficulties and problems before they went to study abroad.

With the establishment of various institutions in Serbia the need for qualified lawyers became greater and greater. In order to meet that need, the Ministry of Education suggested to the *Soviet* on December 10/22, 1848, the introduction of the following new courses in the Department of Law: "Justinian's Institutes, abbreviated Justinian's Pandects, people's law, administrative law or discipline about the state administration and Serbian law". In addition, it proposed the extension of instruction in the Department of Law from two to three years, because the Ministry emphasized in its proposal, "the discipline prescribed by the existing curriculum, particularly since the new political-economic disciplines were introduced, could not be completed in only a two-year course"[39]. On February 4/16, 1848, Prince Alexander accepted the Ministry's suggestion and issued a decree that the proposed courses were to be introduced and the duration of education in the Department of Law was to be extended from two to three years[40].

The Ministry of Education did not hire anyone to teach new courses. They were taught by the existing professors until the academic year 1850-51; Then, those courses were entrusted to Rajko Lešjanin, a state scholarship holder, who just returned to Serbia after completing his education in Paris. Like the other native Lyceum professors, Lešjanin was well educated. He had studied law at the Belgrade lyceum in Heidelberg, and in Paris[41].

In the time of Lešjanin's appointment, the Belgrade Lyceum obtained another new faculty member who contributed a great deal to the Department of Philosophy. It was Matija Ban, Professor of French. He was born in Dubrovnik in 1818 where he acquired a solid education for and ecclesiastical

38. AS, Licej, Lyceum (hereafter referred to L)-878/1858.

39. *Pandects*—a part of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, a collection of Roman classical laws gathered during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565); *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 5 (Beograd, 1853), p. 8.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

41. AS, L—302/1850; MPs, II-316/1851.

vocation. However, he did not enter the profession which he was trained for, but devoted himself to an educational career. Before receiving this professorship in the Belgrade Lyceum, he held various other positions. At one time or another, he taught Italian literature and French in Greece and Constantinople, was the tutor to Prince Alexander Karadjordjević's daughter, and wrote propaganda material with the aim of liberating the Slavic people who were still under Turkish rule[42].

In the beginning of his teaching at the Lyceum, he persuaded the makers of educational policy in Serbia to increase the weekly number of hours for the French language. Besides, he asked the Ministry of Education for permission to introduce a course in the French literature. He presented three arguments to justify his request. First, that knowledge of a great European literature such as the French would be beneficial to Serbian students. Furthermore, it would help them to develop their taste and improve their writing abilities. Second, he argued that the higher schools of all culturally developed countries taught foreign languages and the literature written in them. His third and probably most persuasive argument for the introduction of French literature as a compulsory course in the Lyceum was that Serbia would be the first and the only South Slavic country with a chair in French language and literature. The third year Lyceum students supported Ban's request by a letter sent to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry granted Ban's request on October 1/13, 1851, instructing the Lyceum rector, Konstantin Branković, that Professor Ban was to teach French literature in French and only in the third year "and so well and briefly that with two hours per week it can be completed within a year"[43].

Matija Ban began to teach French literature in the beginning of 1852, not in French, but in Serbian, because the background of Serbian students in French was so poor that they were unable to understand it. The introduction of French literature was an important step in the Serbian higher education and it was greeted warmly by the press. The *Serbian News,* which always stimulated Serbian educational and cultural development, wrote among other things: "This is the first chair of foreign literature in Serbia, over which we rejoice as a significant advance in our most important educational institution"[44].

The German language, which was prescribed by the first curriculum 1839

42. P. Polovina, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
43. AS, MPs, III-405/1851.
44. *Srbske novine,* No. 18 (February 12, 1852).

and omitted by the second of 1844, was again introduced at the end of 1851. The chief reason for it were: expansion of the Lyceum, usage of books written in German, and education of Serbian youth abroad, most often in Austria and Germany. Lyceum rector Konstantin Branković was the initiator of this course. On October 16/28, 1851, he asked the Ministry of Education to establish the optional study of German at the Lyceum "so that those Lyceum students and all other students as well who studied their language in the gymnasium and achieved any success could further improve themselves [in it]"[45]. Branković's suggestion was accepted by Prince Alexander's decree of November 29/December 11, 1851[46]. It was inagurated on December 2/14 of the same year and in the beginning, twenty-seven persons were enrolled, twenty-four Lyceum students and three government officials[47]. Antonije Šulc (Anton Schultz), the teacher of German in the Belgrade gymnasium, was appointed its first professor[48]. After two years, that is, in 1853, the German language become a compulsory course for all Lyceum students[49].

The chair for the Serbian language, literature, and history in the Belgrade Lyceum was established rather late. The main reason was that the architects of the Serbian educational policy thought that these subjects were not yet developed enough to be taught. However, Aleksa Vukomanović, young, educated, and great patriot, who had studied in Russia and returned to Serbia in the fall of 1851, did not share their opinion. After his return to Serbia, he worked diligently with the aim that Serbia establish the chair for the subjects mentioned above in her highest educational institution. His numerous efforts finally brought fruit when on December 18/30, 1851, Prince Alexander approved the establishment of the chair of the "History of the Serbian people and literature of Serbia"[50]. By the Prince's decree of January 11/23, 1852, Aleksa Vukomanović was appointed its first professor[51]. He was born in the village of Srezojevci in the Rudnik district. He completed secondary education in Odessa, and studied history and philology at the Imperial University of "St. Vladimir" in Kiev[52].

45. AS, MPs, I-41/1852.
46. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 6 (Beograd, 1853), p. 61.
47. AS, MPs,
48. AS, L-388/1851.
49. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 7 (Beograd, 1854), pp. 98-99.
50. Olga Mučalica, "Osnivanje katedre narodne istorije i književnosti i njen prvi profesor u Liceju", *Arhivski almanah* (Beograd, 1958), p. 181.
51. AS, MPs, VII-77/1855.
52. "Biografija Vukomanović Alekse Društvu srpske slovesnosti", Arhiv Srpske akade

The instruction of the new courses prepared by Vukomanović began in September, 1852, and they were opened, not only to the Lyceum students, but to everyone who was interested in the history and literature of Serbia[53]. Vukomanović, who was well acquainted with Serbian education, did not expect much from his students. This is nicely shown in a letter which he sent to Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, a well-known Serbian linguist, writer, and educator, after his first lecture. "Until now everything is going rather well", he wrote, "the students listen to and take notes of what is said to them, and what more can I ask from our students who are anyway poorly prepared in everything"[54].

Platon A. Simonović, a well-known Russian educator of Serbian origin, arrived in Serbia at the end of 1852 on the invitation of the Serbian government. The purpose of his invitation was to improve education in Serbia, especially secondary and higher. By the Prince's decree of January 16/28, 1853, he was appointed the chief inspector of all schools in Serbia[55].

From the beginning of his work in Serbia he began to make various changes in Serbia's schools. In addition to the Belgrade gymnasium and lower gymnasiums, the most important changes were made in the Lyceum. He wrote a new law for it under title, "The Organization of the Lyceum of the Serbian Principality" which was promulgated on September 15/27, 1853[56]. By this law the Lyceum was reorganized and some changes were made in its curriculum. It prescribed that the Lyceum had three departments: Department of Law, Department of Natural Science and Technology, and Department of General Education. In fact, the Lyceum had only two departments which prepared specialists because the task of the Department of General Education was to enlarge student's general knowledge. All students in the first two departments were obliged to take courses in the Department of General Education which was nothing else but a re-organized Department of Philosophy. According to the new law, the students were no longer obliged to study for two years in the Department of Philosophy (General Education) in order to study in the Department of Law or in the New Department of Natural Science and Technology, but every student who completed the gymnasium could be enrolled in one or the other department. In both departments instruction lasted for three years[57].

mije nauka i umetnosti, the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Beograd, No. 7380/8.

53. *Srbske novine*, No. 102 (September 6, 1852).
54. O. Mučalica, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
55. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 7 (Beograd, 1854), p. 24.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-112.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

The curriculum of 1853 prescribes the following subjects in the Department of General Education: instruction in Christianity, psychology, logic, "theory of literature (philology with philosophical grammer and criticism)", esthetics, history of Serbian, Slavic literature and the literature of the major European nations, general history, history of Serbian people, statistics, state economy, finance, "political mathematics", French, and German. The Department of Law was to teach: survey of law and history of legal knowledge, Roman law, administrative law, international law, Serbian public law, criminal law, and Serbian civil and criminal court procedure. In the newly established Department of Natural Science and Technology the following courses were to be studied: physics, physical geography, botany, zoology, chemistry, technology, civil architecture, commerce with bookkeeping, agronomy, and a brief survey of Serbian administrative and public law. In addition to these courses, both the Department of Law and the Department of Natural Science and Technology offered optional courses in advanced mathematics, practical geometry, mechanics, and pedagogy. All these courses were to be distributed "among thirteen, and if necessary among fourteen professors and two language teachers", who had to be gymnasium professors[58].

The "Organization" of 1853 also brought some changes into the administration of the Lyceum. One of the most important was that from then on the Lyceum Council elected its rector from among the professors, no longer every year, but every three years and, as before, he had to be confirmed by the Prince[59]. The "Organization of the Lyceum of the Serbian Principality" was the last law enacted during the Constitutionalist period, which made significant changes in the structure and curriculum of the Belgrade Lyceum. From 1853 until the downfall of the Constitutionalists in 1858, the only noticeable changes were made in the teaching of the exact sciences, and rather great attention was paid to them, due mostly to the efforts of their professors, especially Josif Rančić.

Despite Serbia's rather low national income and numerous financial obligations, the government increased the budget for the expansion and improvement of the Lyceum from year to year. For example, the government total revenues for the fiscal year 1845 amounted to only 912,125 talers. From this sum 64,821 talers was allocated for all the expenses of the Ministry of Education, of which the Ministry allotted 5,122 talers to the Lyceum[60]. Serbia's

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
60. AS, Sovjet, 29/1845.

national income gradually increased, and in 1853, the year when the Lyceum began to operate according to the new law of 1853, with the national income amounted to 1,123,405 talers. Yet, the Ministry of Education was allocated only 60,224 talers, 4,597 talers, less than in 1845. However, despite this fact, the Ministry of Education gave the Lyceum 7,706 talers, 2,584 talers more than 1845[61]. In the last year of the Constitutionalist regime, that is in 1858, this sum was considerably increased so that the budget for the institution's needs amounted to 10,861 talers[62].

To hire people with a solid education and good morals was one of the main objectives of the government. It usually realized that objective, especially after 1848, when the first groups of native intellectuals educated at well-known European universities began to return to Serbia. It is difficult to establish for certain the number of native professors who taught at the Lyceum during the Constitutionalist time. Nevertheless, on the basis of numerous archival documents we tried to establish their number. The results of our research show that the Serbian government entrusted professorships in her highest school to ten native men and they were: Konstantin Cukić, Dimitrije Matić, Rajko Lešjanin, Djordje Cenić, Vladimir Jakšić, Filip Hristović, Milovan Janković, Aleksa Vukomanović, Stojan Veljković, and Kosta Jovanović[63]. All of them, except Aleksa Vukomanović, were educated in West European universities. Vukomanović, as already indicated, was educated in Russia. This number is surprising in light of the fact that in the same period the Belgrade gymnasium had only one native teacher (Ljubomir Nenadović) and he was engaged only a short time. It is worth mentioning that in the time of the Constitutionalists the Lyceum had five physicians on its faculty. All of them came from abroad and taught courses in natural science.

Like the salaries of elementary and seconday teachers, the salaries of Lyceum professors were rather poor; their average was around 600 talers per year[64]. In addition, the teaching profession was not respected as the profession of the state officials. "How the professorial profession is rejected and despised in Serbia", writes Stojan Bošković, who was himself a secondary school teacher in this period, "can be judged when I mention one among

61. AS, Sovjet, 501/1853.

62. AS, Sovjet, 721/1857.

63. AS, MPs, VII-77/1855, II-316/1851; L-831/1858, L-878/1858.

64. AS, MPs, Vii-77/1855. For example, in 1843 one *oka* (1,280 grams) of bread cost 0.20 groš (1 taler was worth 10 grošes), one *oka* of lard 4, one *oka* of beans 0.30 and one *oka* of potetos 0.12 grošes. (Nikola Vučo, *Raspadanje esnafa u Srbiji*, Vol. 2, Beograd, 1958, p. 74).

many examples. A professor, a friend of mine, complained to me that he had proposed marriage to a girl, but was rejected with the excuse that the professorial occupation does not have any prospect for the future"[65].

In order to improve professors' income, the government issued several decrees during the Constitutionalist period. The decree passed on February 15/27, 1858, was the most important and it was more or less a supplement to similar decrees issued in 1851, 1852, and 1854. According to it, the Lyceum professors' salaries were to be increased in four stages. The first stage was to begin after ten years of teaching and lasted until the end of the fifteenth year, the second from the beginning of the sixteenth until the end of the twentieth, the third from the beginning of the twenty-first until the end of the twenty-fifth, and the fourth from the beginning of the twenty-sixth until the end of the teaching career. At the end of the first period, their salaries were to be increased by 100 talers, at the end of the second and third by 150, and at the end of the fourth period by 200 talers. If, for instance, a Lyceum professor had 600 talers per year in the beginning of his teaching career, he could conclude it with the annual salary of 1,200 talers, as much as his pension had to be if he worked in the teaching profession for thirty years. This decree, however, did not apply to those professors who were not permanently employed[66]. However, since a large number of Lyceum professors held their teaching positions for a short time, these decrees did not benefit many of them.

Yugoslav historian and pedagogues, especially contemporary ones, mainly blame the Constitutionalist for the material difficulties which faced Serbian educators. Numerous examples, however, do not support their assertions. It is sufficient to mention, for instance, that in the last seven years of the Constitutionalist regime the annual budget of the Ministry of Education was increased by 33,553 talers, not including periodical financial help to the individual Lyceum chairs; over the same period the budget of the *Soviet* was increased by only 10,094 talers, that of the Prince's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was decreased by 794,4 and that of the Ministry of Justice was increased by 45,311 talers[67]. It would be correct to state that the difficult material condition of professors during the Constitutionalist period was more the result of an aggregation of problems, especially financial ones, which Serbia had to face, than the result of the educational policy of the regime itself. True, there were many vague areas in the financial policy of the regime but

65. Stojan Bošković, *Za prosvetu i slobodu* (Beograd, 1882), p. 24.
66. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba*, Vol. 11 (Beograd, 1858), pp. 47-50.
67. AS, Sovjet, 464/1850; 721/1857.

documents do not indicate that its financial policy damaged in any way educational process of the state.

Despite the fact that the Belgrade Lyceum was noticeably improved during the period of Constitutionalists, it was not recognized as an institution equal to similar ones outside of Serbia. The educators of Serbia, with government assistance, took necessary steps to correct that situation. Their chief interest was that the Lyceum be recognized by Austria, because Serbian students usually continued their education in her advanced schools and university. In the middle of 1850 the Lyceum rector, Emilijan Josimović, asked the Ministry of Education to intercede with the Austrian government to recognize officially the Belgrade Lyceum so that its graduates could easily continue their education in Austria. "Our institution", Josimović wrote to the Ministry, "accepts proper school certificates issued by the learned institutions of foreign countries, and the professors think that it would be right that other states recognize and respect our institution as a good one, so that the *principle of mutuality* is recognized"[68]. The Serbian government negotiated with the government of Austria regarding this question, but the disired result was not achieved. The Department of Philosophy was only recognized as an extension of the Belgrade gymnasium, and the Department of Law was not recognized at all[69]. The operation of the Lyceum, was not unknown outside of Serbia's borders. For example, on July 31/August 12, 1844, the Association of Hungarian Physicians and Biologists invited the Lyceum professorial board to send its delegates to a formal convention of Hungarian physicians and biologists held in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in Transylvania[70].

On the whole, the Lyceum professors of the Constitutionalist period were capable, although none of them was formally trained for the teaching profession. The quality of teaching gradually improved, particularly in exact sciences, by the establishment of the chemistry, physics, natur study laboratories and by the introduction of the first scientific expeditions in the 1850's. Some of the professors achieved notable results not only as teachers, but as scholars as well. Josif Pančić was undoubtedly the best known among them, and his scholarly works in botany, zoology, and geology were also known outside of Serbia.

In addition to teaching and scholarly works, the Lyceum professors

68. AS, MPs, II-233/1850.

69. Miodrag Jugović, "Prva beogradska gimnazija", *Spomenica o stogodišnjici prve muške gimnazije u Beogradu, 1839-1939* (Beograd, 1939), p. 114.

70. AS, L-134/1844.

contributed a great deal to the building, enlightenment, and modernization of the young Serbian state. They were the most educated in the state and in many instances their services outside of teaching were indispensable. For example, in the beginning of 1857, Mihailo Rašković, professor of chemistry, was assigned with the state pharmacist, Pavle Ilić, to examine mineral waters in the country; Djordje Cenić and Stojan Veljković, law professors, were appointed in April of 1857 to a commission "for making rules of procedure with convicts during their imprisonment, forced labor, or captivity"; in May, 1858, Vladimir Jakšić, professor of statistics, was appointed to a commission to inspect the Majdanpek mine, and so on[71].

The Lyceum of the Constitutionalist period had to cope with numerous problems and the small number of its students was one of the biggest. While the number of students in elementary and secondary schools rapidly grew, at the Lyceum, despite the new laws and decrees, the establishment of the new departments and chairs, the improvement of teaching, and financial help to poor students, the enrollment remained very small. There were even some academic years, for instance 1846-47, when on the average a professor had fewer than three students[72]. During the entire Constitutionalist period the Lycem only once had more than sixty students. This was in the academic year 1845-46, the year when the Lyceum began to operate according to the new law of 1844, when it had sixty-two students, thirty-nine in the Department of Philosophy, and twenty-three in the Department of Law[73]. Its average academic year enrollement for the twenty years of the Constitutionalist rule was somewhere between thirty-two and thirty-eight students. It is important to note that, for instance, in the academic year 1857-58 the Lyceum had only thirty-nine students and at the same time the Belgrade gymnasium, the completion of which was a requirement for enrollement in the Lyceum, had as many as 530 students[74].

The question why such a small number of the gymnasium students entered the Lyceum can be raised. The general theory was—and some historians still support it—that this occurrence was mainly the result of a great need for civil servants, coupled with a poorly defined policy for hiring civil servants. This assertion is only partially correct. Ture, the young state needed civil servants and its hiring policy was not by any means perfect, but it was only

71. AS, L-715/1857, L-831/1858, L-836/1858.
72. AS, MPs, VI-7/1846.
73. *Novine čitališta beogradskog*, No. 3 (January 17, 1847).
74. *Kalendar sa šematizmom Knjaževstva Srbije za 1858* (Beograd, 1858), pp. 37-38.

one of the causes and in our opinion not the chief one. Various sources, especially the archival documents, indicate that the main cause for a small enrollment of the Lyceum students should not be sought in Serbia's need for civil servants and her employments policy, but in the poverty of the gymnasium students[75]. In order to improve the material condition of the Lyceum students and probably to attract the gymnasium students to continue their education, the government offered financial help to them. However, that help averaged only about 3 talers per month and it was not nearly enough for even their most basic needs[76]. It should be mentioned that the children of foreign citizens employed in Serbia could attend schools free, and even received financial help from the Serbian government, but they could not get government position[77].

How much the Lyceum students learned during the Constitutionalist period is more or less unknown, because the examinations were usually oral, and the number of their written compositions which have been preserved is insignificant and fragmentary. True, there are a rather large number of newspaper reports, and reports by professors and rectors, but they are not reliable. The tendency, particularly of the *Serbian News,* was to present the results of the examinations favorably. Taking into consideration the fact that a large number of students lived under very difficult conditions, that the environment in which they moved and spent their time was still primitive, that curriculums and professors were often altered, that students had a poor educational background, that they were burdened with a large number of subjects, that their professors did not possess a solid pedagogic knowledge, and that students' textbooks were small in numbers and most often of poor quality, it can be concluded with a great degree of certainty that on whole the knowledge of the Lyceum students was poor in comparison to the knowledge of students gained in similar West European institutions. Numerous letters, notices, official documents and memoirs of the statescholarship holders educated in the West support this conclusion. Thus, for instance, although he had studied German in Serbia, Protić wrote: "When in October of 1846 I came to Berlin, I could not understand one word of German"[78].

One of the main objects of education in the Constitutionalist period was to develop in students a sense of responsibility, modesty, sympathy for

75. AS, MPs, I-20/1848, V-53/1853, V-404/1843.
76. AS, MPs, V-388/1847.
77. AS, MPs, VI-8/1844.
78. "Autobiografija Protić Petra", Arhiv SAN, No. 7380/32.

others, devotion to their faith, and respect toward their church, parents, and superiors. Special attention was paid to the concept of obedience and discipline. Already in the first months of its operation, the Lyceum hired a man who, in addition to his janitorial duties, was obliged to supervise secretly and publicly students' behavior and to see to it that students did not roam lanes, taverns, and coffeehouses at night or during the day[79]. The violators were punished strictly. Incarceration for several days was the most frequent form of punishment, though corporal punishment was not rare.

The Lyceum educators took all necessary measured to have complete control over their students in the school as well as outside of it. For instance, on October 13/25, 1839, the secretary of Education and Justice, Stefan Stefanović-Tenka, informed the Lyceum rector, Atanasije Nikolić, that the Lyceum and Gymnasium students were forbidden to lodge in taverns because, he wrote, "they will have opportunity to hear and see there, all sorts of ugliness which is not in accordance with school and general education"[80].

Before the turbulent revolutionary year, 1848, the Lyceum students were mainly politically passive. However in 1848, under the influence of the revolutions in West and Central Europe, especially in Hungary and Vojvodina, they became politically active. "The Lyceum students study hardly anything", Jevrem Grujić, who also was a Lyceum student at that time wrote to his friend, Miloš Petrović, in March of 1848. "One hardly hears anything else except hurrah, hurrah, hurrah, long live Serbian liberty and independence, long live the King (sic) of Serbia!"[81]. After 1848 they took a quite active role in the political life of the state and manifested it in various forms. In the beginning, their activites were disorganized, but in time those activities obtained a more organized form and were more effective. For example, when the Crimean War broke out in 1853, the first student demonstration was organized in Serbia. Dimitrije Marinković, then a Lyceum student, left a valuable record of it.

> From 1853 [he writes] we, students, began to discuss politics. At least I began to be interested in politics, and not in internal but in foreign. All of us students were for the Russians and only one of our friends, some Aleksa Ostojić...was Francophile or as we called him *Francuzan*...We, students, organized a demonstration in Russia's

79. AS, Sovjet, 616/1839.

80. AS, L-16/1839.

81. Cited by Mihailo Bjelica, "Počeci političke štampe u Srbiji, 1834-1872 (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Belgrade, 1972), p. 61.

benefit. Namely, on St. Demetrius Day we celebrated the *Slava* (Serbian family feast for its patron saint) at the home of our friend, Jevrem Veljković, and from there, slightly drunk, we went toward our school and a big church (the cathedral) shouting on the way "Long live Tsar Nicholas!"[82].

The Lyceum students of the Constitutionalist period organized the biggest demonstrations in the beginning of 1854 against their Professor, Matija Ban, and their cause was not of an educational but of a political nature. The specific issue was an ode that Ban had published in Novi Sad's journal *Sedmica* (Week), (No. 7 of February 20, 1854). He had entitled the ode "To Sultan Abdülmecid, Founder of Civil Equality in the Ottoman Empire, Educator of the East, and Friend of Humanity", and it glorified Sultan and his merits. "A Serb", he wrote regarding this ode, "had need to sing the praises of that man who insured people's rights in Serbia, now and for centuries to come and who always shows himself to be a protector of Christians in the true sense of the word"[83]. The Lyceum students, who were anti-Turkish, considered glorification of the Sultan by a professor of the Serbian Lyceum an insult to the Serbian people and decided to boycott his classes. They marched through the Belgrade streets and sang these verses:

Proud Istanbul, sink into the sea
Powerful is the hand which drives you!

from the poem "Stanbolu" (To Istanbul) by Ljubomir Nenadović, a Serbian poet, writer, and journalist who was already well-known. A large number of citizens joined them. This demonstration was by no means harmless. Matija Ban did not teach for more than a week after that; he was even afraid to leave his apartment for some time, and a policeman was assigned to guard the building in which he lived[84].

In June, 1847, the Lyceum students established their first literary society under the name "Družina Mladeži Srbske" (Society of Serbian Youth). However, it had pure literary character only in the beginning of its operation. Later on, its members became preoccupied with the ideas of nationalism and Panslavism, and in 1848 it became more a political than a literary society.

82. Dragoslav Stranjaković, ed., *Uspomene i doživljaji Dimitrija Marinkovića, 1846-1869* (Beograd, 1939), pp. 34-35.

83. Cited by Branislav Dj. Nušić, "Oda Sultanu'—jedno sećanje iz prošlosti", *Srpski književni glasnik*, knj. XXVI, No. 4 (Beograd, 1911), p. 259.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

Then, it became a champion of liberal and humanitarian ideas as well as the first sharp critic of the regime. Its action was closely watched by the government and tolerated because the government wanted to preserve peace in the country. However, when the Revolutions of 1848-49 were put down, thus eliminating a potential danger to the Serbian government, the tolerance enjoyed by the Society came to an end. First, the members of the Society were warned about their political activities and advised to observe strictly rules of the Society Prescribed at the time of its establishment. As the Society continued to carry out its nonliterary activities, the government abolished it on June 21/July 3, 1851, and its officers punished[85]. It ought to be noted that the Society of Serbian Youth was the only students' society at the Belgrade Lyceum during the time of the Constitutionalists.

During its short existence, the Society of Serbian Youth partially awakened the heretofore apolitical Serbian students and acquainted them with young Serbs outside of Serbia. It adapted and propagated modern liberal ideas and in their execution saw the progress of the Serbian state. True, during its activity the results of its propaganda were insignificant, but the torch of liberals which it lighted, was not extinguished with its abolishment. For instance, in the 1860's when the situation for political activity in Serbia became more favorable, former members of the Society of Serbian Youth, now experienced champions of liberalism, such as Jevrem Grujić, Jovan Ristić, Milovan Janković, and others, began to carry out liberal ideas more successfully. Besides, with establishment of the Society of Serbian Youth, the first group of future native intellectuals appeared on the Serbian political scene. Their presence could not be ignored, and they at first indirectly and later directly, influenced the making of Serbia's internal and foreign policy. Thus, it was that by disseminating education and improving teaching, the Constitutionalists did not only create needed cadres but at the same time they also created the men who directed their own downfall in 1858.

In the educational development of every country, libraries have a special place because they are bastions of learning and kaleidoscopes of human thought. In Serbia they grew very slowly. The Lyceum officially received its library in 1845, almost seven years after its opening. The new opened library had 319 books in 551 volumes, one manuscript, 119 letters and documents, and one portrait[86]. Its collection grew modestly. The chief contributiors were:

85. Milorad Radević, "Gradja za istoriju Družine Mladeži Srbske, 1847-1851", *Nastava i vaspitanje*, No. 4 (Beograd, 1969), p. 466.

86. Olga Popović, "Biblioteka srpskog liceja", *Biblioteka*, Nos. 1-2 (Beograd, 1951), p. 4.

individuals from the nation and from abroad, the publishing house in Belgrade which gave to the library free samples of all books published in Serbia, and scholarly institutions from abroad, mainly Russian[87]. The government investment into the Lyceum library was insignificant. Its main contribution was 50 talers per year for the salary of a librarian. He was one of the Lyceum professors who received that sum as a supplement to his regular annual salary[88].

The Constitutionalist government paid much greater attention to teaching aids for the Lyceum. By the "Organization" of 1853 the government allocated an annual sum of 500 talers per year for that purpose[89]. However, from time to time supplementary sums were granted.

Good textbooks are essential for any kind of education—especially higher education. The makers of government educational policy were aware of it and various measures were used to produce needed textbooks in the shortest period of time. As early as 1844 by the decree "The Organization of Public School Education" the Lyceum professors were required to write textbooks for their courses. A professor's obligation was, it was emphasized in that part of the "Organization" which refers to the Lyceum, "to write a book himself for his subject if it does not exist, so that after it is approved by the Ministry of Education, it can be published in order to make students' learning easier"[90]. That this requirement indeed be carried out, the Ministry of Education reminded professors from time to time about their obligation through the Lyceum rectors[91]. In addition, in order to stimulate professors to write better books, the Ministry rewarded the best authors with monetary awards[92]. These and other measures brought positive results, and by the end of the Constitutionalist period the Belgrade Lyceum had textbooks for almost all subjects.

Most textbooks were written by professors who came to Serbia from abroad, especially from Vojvodina. However, they lacked originality and large number of Lyceum textbooks were more or less adaptations or translations of the well-known Austrian and German texts. Most often they were poorly written. Konstantin Branković was one of the most prolific textbook outhors of the Constitutionalist period. He wrote *Elementary Philosophy* and *Logic.*

87. AS, L-474/1853, L-543/1855, L-799/1857.
88. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba,* Vol. 7 (Beograd, 1854), p. 112.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Sbornik zakona i uredaba,* Vol. 2 (Beograd, 1845), p. 340.
91. AS, L-164/1845, L-174/1846.
92. AS, L-33/1840.

Like many of his colleagues, he lacked originality. Both of his books are more or less translations of works by Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770-1942), a respected German Professor of Philosophy and follower of Immanuel Kant. In spite of it, his books were very important for the generation of native intellectuals in Serbia. Through *Elementary Philosophy*, for instance, Branković conveyed to Serbia Krug's theoretical or speculative philosophy, which Krug himself called "transcendental synthetism", and which was for almost three decades "an important mediative preoccupation for a number of Serbian intelectuals"[93]. It was this book that "*marked the beginning steps in the Serbian school of philosophy*"[94]. In addition, he made one of the first and "partly successful attempts to create a *Serbian terminology* for the more important philosophical terms". Sometimes, however, he went too far and attempted to render etirely untranslatable terms into Serbian[95].

In the second half of the Constitutionalist period native Serbs who had been educated abroad began to write textbooks. They were more original than their colleagues who came from Vojvodina and they permeated their works with the ideas of liberalism. Dimitrije Matić and Konstantin Cukić, already mentioned, were the most important and influential.

Because of the incompleteness of the sources, it is difficult to determine precisely how many textbooks and reference books for Lyceum students' needs were published before 1858. According to Stojan Novaković's *Bibliography*, which may be taken as a rather reliable, though incomplete source, in Serbia during the Constitutionalist period, about 30 textbooks and reference books for Lyceum students were published[96].

During the twenty years of the Constitutionalist regime, taking into consideration numerous difficulties that the government had to face, great attention was paid to higher education and the results were noticeable. When the Constitutionalists took power in 1838, the Lyceum was in a formative phase and it did not significantly differ from Gymnasium. Twenty years later, in 1858, when their reign came to an end, the Lyceum was a semi-university with three departments, numerous courses, and a solid teaching staff. However, despite all the improvements, the number of its students was only slightly increased. According to its professor, Konstantin Branković, in the

93. Andrija Stojković, *Razvitak filozofile u Srba, 1804-1944* (Beograd, 1972), p. 110.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Ilija Ivačković, *Jedan srpski filozof* (Sremski Karlovci, 1908), p. 54.
96. Stojan Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost, 1741-1867* (Beograd 1869), pp. 219-402.

twenty years of the Constitutionalist regime, only 165 young men graduated from the highest school in Serbia, or an average of eight students per year[97]. Indeed, their annual influx into Serbian society was a drop of water in ocean because according to the census of 1859, Serbia had 1,078,281 inhabitants[98]. Despite this, their presence was to be felt in almost every field of Serbian life. Together with the young men educated abroad, they began to plant the seeds of modernization and progress in Serbian society.

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97. K. Branković, "Razvitak Velike škole", *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

98. *Stanovništvo Narodne Republike Srbije od 1834-1953*, Vol. 1, Serija B, Sveska 1 (Beograd, 1953), p. 11.

*B. KONDIS*

# THE "MACEDONIAN QUESTION" AS A BALKAN PROBLEM IN THE 1940s

The purpose of this paper is to examine and analyse the "Macedonian question" in the framework of Balkan politics in the 1940s. During this period one can note two distinct phases: In the first phase April 1941 - October 1944 there was a struggle for supremacy in Yugoslav Macedonia between the Bulgarian authorities and the Yugoslav and Bulgarian communist parties. The second phase November 1944-summer of 1948 was dominated by Tito's ambitions for a South-Slav federation which greatly complicated the international situation in the Balkans and it was closely related to the problem of the territorial claims of the Balkan states.

Upon the German invasion of the Balkans in April 1941, Bulgaria was allowed to take from Yugoslavia her Macedonian lands and from Greece the eastern part of Macedonia and western Thrace. Central and western Macedonia were occupied by Germany and Italy. The Bulgarian authorities made every effort to absorb the Greek and Yugoslav territory and treated them as if annexed permanently.

In the Bulgarian occupied territory the Greek population was being decimated by mass murders and forced migrations. This movement started with the arrival of the Bulgarian troups and their objective was not to convert the local population, since there were few Slavs, but to eliminate it and replace it with Bulgarian colonists. In August 1941, as a result of the Bulgarian persecutions, the first guerrilla units appeared in eastern Macedonia under the name «Ελευθερία» and undertook to resist the invaders. In the end of September, however, the Bulgarians provoked a popular revolt in Drama, Doxato and Kavalla, which ended in massacres of the Greek population while 30,000 persons fled only to Thessaloniki: Reliable sources indicate that 15,000 Greeks were killed and over 200,000 people were forced to flee from the region[1]. The plan of the Bulgarian government was to make eastern Macedonia and

1. National Archives of the United States, Department of State Records (DSR), 868. 00/1132. Berry to Department of State, Rome, 17 November 1941.

western Thrace predominantly Bulgarian in population and to insure the final attribution of the territory to Bulgaria[2].

The Bulgarians, also, tried to extend their control to western and central Macedonia. Their first objective was the proselytization of the small number of slavophones who lived in the area at the time of the German invasion and had openly shown pro-Bulgarian sentiment[3]. Moreover, armed bands of Bulgarian sympathizers terrorized the Greek population. Although the Germans condomned the Bulgarian activities they did not allowe the Bulgarians to extend their authority in the area. Indicative of the resistance that the Greek population put against the Bulgarian activities is the fact that only about 14,700 persons took Bulgarian identity cards in order to take advantage of the Bulgarian offer that only Bulgarians would receive foodstuffs donated by the international Red Cross[4].

Contrary to the opposition that Bulgaria faced in Greek Macedonia, the Bulgarians in the occupied Yugoslav Macedonia were greeted initially with great enthusiasm as historical ties united the population. The general policy of the Bulgarians was to win over the population and absorb the occupied area. This, however, proved unsuccessful as the Bulgarian authorities acted like conquerers and were corrupt and incompetent administrators[5]. At the same time a bitter struggle started between the Yugoslav and the Bulgarian communist parties over the right to control Yugoslav Macedonia, with the local communist party aligning itself with the Bulgarians. The Yugoslav partisan leaders, faced with a dual challenge by the Bulgarian authorities and communists in Macedonia, tried to get control of the region with the organization of armed resistance. The situation changed in favor of the Yugoslavs as the Germans attacked the Soviet Union and the Comintern called in August 1941 for risings to aid the Soviet cause[6]. At this point, it was difficult for the weak Bulgarian party to organize partisan activities that would be directed against Bulgarian soldiers. In this situation the more militant Yugoslav organizers were able to launch the first actions, and in the fall of 1941 partisan detachments were formed under Lazar Kolishevski's direction. Their efforts, however, met with an early disaster as the Bulgarian forces

2. For a detailed account see Evangelos Kofos, *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, Thessaloniki 1964, pp. 102-106.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

5. Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans: Twentieth Century*, Vol. 2, Cambridge 1983, p. 255.

6. Elisabeth Barker, *Macedonia*, London 1950, pp. 87-88.

managed to break the party organization and crush the first partisan units[7].

The situation in Yugoslav Macedonia remained unchanged until the beginning of 1943 when the Yugoslavs again attempted to organize a resistance movement in Macedonia. Tito and the other partisan leaders, by this time, had decided to solve the Macedonian problem with the eventual union of all Macedonia (Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Greek) within the framework of a federal Yugoslavia[8]. The theory was that all Slav-speakers in the three Macedonian provinces were not Bulgarians nor Serbs but ethnic "Macedonians" and had the right to win their freedom within the Yugoslav federation.

To implement this new policy Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo was sent to Yugoslav Macedonia to assure the local population that in the future Yugoslav state they would have autonomy and could use their own language freely. Since the nationalists in the area were thoroughly disillusioned with the Bulgarian occupation forces, this approach won much support. Moreover, in the summer of 1943 Tempo came into contact with partisan leaders in Greece, Albania and Bulgaria and informed them of the Yugoslav plan for the postwar solution of the "Macedonian question" without making any reference to any territorial changes in Macedonia[9]. Specifically Tempo proposed the creation of a Balkan General Staff which would coordinate the activities of the partisan units. Slavo-Macedonians would be permitted to form their own political organizations and armed units, which should be able to cross the frontiers and operate in the neighboring countries[10]. Tempo's major objective was to transform the Bulgarian-oriented Slavophones into Slavo-Macedonians who would achieve their unity with the acquisition of Bulgarian and Greek territory.

The leadership of the EAM/ELAS resistance movement in Greece rejected the idea for a Balkan General Staff, but permitted the organization of the Slavo-Macedonians into a Slav National Liberation Front (SNOF) and the creation of special Slavo-Macedonian armed units within the ranks of ELAS[11].These units caused a great deal of trouble to ELAS throughout 1944 and in October of that year ELAS units were forced to attack the SNOF formations which withdrew into Yugoslav Macedonia[12].

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

8. Robert Lee Wolff, *The Balkans in our Time*, New York 1967, pp. 215-216.

9. Elisabeth Barker, *British Policy in Southeast Europe in the Second World War*, London 1976, p. 188.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 197. Kofos, *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, p. 121.

12. Kofos, p. 127.

Following the departure of the Germans (end of October 1944) western and central Macedonia came under Greek control. However, eastern Macedonia and western Thrace continued to be under Bulgarian occupation and only after strong British protest to the Soviets did the Bulgarians evacuate the area[13].

After the Greek government returned to Athens demanded that parts of southern Bulgaria and possibly of Yugoslavia be ceded to Greece. These claims, coupled with Tito's desires to create a unified Macedonia by annexing portion of Bulgarian Macedonia and Greek Macedonia to the People's Republic of Macedonia, complicated greatly the "Macedonian question"[14]. Until the autumn of 1944 the territorial issue concerning Bulgaria and Yugoslavia appeared to be simply whether Greek claims to an expansion of the Greek frontiers would be fulfilled. After that date, however, even the restoration of the pre-war Greek frontier began to be called in question. There were numerous statements of Yugoslav officials declaring that the autonomous state of Macedonia would include Thessaloniki and Greek territory as far as the Nestos River[15]. Also, they rejected Greek claims, to either Yugoslav or Bulgarian Macedonia and in turn accused Greek officials of persecuting "our Macedonians" in "Aegean Macedonia"[16].

Tito, by the end of 1944, hoped to solve the Macedonian problem by annexing Pirin Macedonia and arranging a federation with Bulgaria. This automatically posed a grave threat to Greek Macedonia and moreover the powerful influence of Yugoslavia in the Albanian Communist Party gave promise that eventually the Yugoslavs could transform Albania as well into a Federal Republic[17].

Negotiations about a Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation started in December 1944, on Yugoslav initiative, but nothing concrete developed as Bulgaria refused to become merely the seventh republic in Tito's Federal Yugoslavia, after Pirin Macedonia had been united with the Yugoslav Macedonian Republic. The Bulgarians were willing to allow the development of a common national consciousness in Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia but they could not agree on the Yugoslav federation plans on terms other than absolute

13. Basil Kondis, *Η αγγλοαμερικανική πολιτική και το ελληνικό πρόβλημα: 1945-1949*, Thessaloniki 1984, pp. 38-39.

14. For a detailed account see Kondis, *Η αγγλοαμερικανική πολιτική*, passim.

15. National Archives of the United States, Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Research and Analysis Report No. 2662, Washington, 8 February 1945.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Wolff, *The Balkans in our Time*, p. 314.

Bulgarian-Yugoslav parity[18]. As differences on the question of parity could not be overcome, the initial plans for federation were shelved in the beginning of 1945 with the explanation that Great Britain and the United States were opposed to them[19].

The American and the British governments with considerable apprehension followed the situation and the statements in favor of an autonomous Macedonia and the creation of a federation. Although the British would welcome a federation between all the Balkan states including Turkey, they would not favor an exclusive union or federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria because it would insolate Greece and endanger her position as a Balkan state. Moreover, they opposed to the inclusion of any territories belonging to either Bulgaria or Greece to the Macedonian Federal Republic on the ground that such regions were "Macedonian"[20]. On its part the American government considered that the terms "Macedonian nation", "Macedonian state" or "Macedonian national consciousness" did not have any national or political meaning, while they opposed any revival of the "Macedonian question" in any way relating to Greece[21]. American intelligence sources reported that the Yugoslavs would not dare invade Greece but they would encourage the Slavo-Macedonians to rise against the Greek government hoping to convince world public opinion that the region was principally Slavic and should be connected with Yugoslavia[22].

Despite that Tito had temporarily dropped the question of federation with Bulgaria and the matter of Pirin Macedonia, he continued to make demands for Greek Macedonia. On June 21 the Belgrade newspaper "Politika" refered to Greek Macedonia as Yugoslav just as all other Yugoslav federal units[23]. Also, in the Potsdam Conference the Yugoslav government had submitted a memorandum describing the "Macedonians of the Aegean" as co-nationals[24]. In the summer and fall of 1945 public statements indicating the Yugoslav desire to incorporate Greek Macedonia into the People's Republic of Macedonia appeared with increasing frequency. In late 1945, Tito went

18. *Ibid.*
19. Barker, *British Policy in Southeast Europe*, p. 203.
20. DSR 740.000/1-245, British Embassy to Department of State, Washington, 2 January 1945.
21. Kondis, *Η αγγλοαμερικανική πολιτική*, pp. 108-109.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Politika*, 21 June 1945 as quoted in the *New York Times*, 22 June 1945.
24. Kofos, *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, p. 151.

so far as to announce that Yugoslavia would never deny the right of the Macedonian people to unite[25].

Records of this period leave no doubt that Yugoslavia sought to revive and promote a seperatist movement among the Slavo-Macedonians in Greece. This put the Greek Communist Party in an awkward position. In general, the Greek left did not support Yugoslav machinations in Greek Macedonia. The official view of the party was opposed to an independent Macedonian state.

In the beginning of 1946, after the return of Georgi Dimitrov from Moscow to Bulgaria, the question of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav federation was again brought up. Dimitrov made it clear that the solution of the "Macedonian question" was "not in the division of Macedonia, not in a struggle over it, but in respect for the will of its people, the majority of whom have obtained freedom and equality in the framework of federated Yugoslavia"[26].

The position of Dimitrov was openly criticized by the opposition Social Democrats who thought that a free federation could only be formed between independent equals. Despite the fact that the leaders of the Bulgarian communist party faced great opposition within and outside the party, they were forced to make great concessions on the Macedonian question, which were favorable to Yugoslavia. At the 10th Plenum, 9-10 August 1946, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party decided the future union of Pirin Macedonia in the People's Republic of Macedonia and to accept a series of measures concerning the cultural autonomy and development of national consciousness of the Macedonian population[27].

The recognition of the "Macedonian" character of the Pirin region by the Bulgarian communists caused great reaction in Bulgaria. There still existed a form of an opposition which was very critical of the developments in Macedonia. The Bulgarian leadership was accused of betraying the national Bulgarian ideals with the recognition of the "Macedonian nationality". Very illuminating are the views of Tsola Dragoicheva, member of the central Committee of the BCP, who wishing to justify the position of the Bulgarian government notes: "I should like to emphasize that the pressure exercized by Yugoslavia at that time was excessive, at a time when Bulgaria, still treated as a former satellite of Hitlerite Germany, had to shoulder some consequences of the defect; at that time a peace treaty had not yet been made. Skilfully

25. Barker, *Macedonia*, p. 117.

26. Dimitar Mitrev, *Pirin Macedonia*, Skopje 1962, p. 63.

27. Kofos, *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, p. 160. Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question*, New York 1968, p. 151.

manoeauring in a situation difficult for Bulgaria, the Yugoslav leadership succeeded in imposing its national conception of the organization of Macedonia. We then had no alternative but to agree to some undesirable, illegal concessions: precisely of such a nature were the decisions on the Macedonian question adopted at the 10th Plenum in 1946, at variance with the will of the Party and the people and contravening the principles of truth and justice"[28].

It is probable that the Bulgarians made the concessions in Pirin Macedonia in order to have the support of Tito at the Paris Peace Conference. At this point, the Bulgarians not only contended that Greece's claim for the readjustment of the Greek-Bulgarian frontier was unfounded, but they presented a counter claim on the Greek province of western Thrace, proposing that article 1 of the Bulgarian Peace Treaty be amended in such a way as to re-establish the Greek-Bulgarian border as it had been in 1941[29]. The Bulgarians argued that they needed an outlet to the Aegean Sea. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia supported the Bulgarian demand and found it perfectly justified[30].

The Yugoslavs, on their part, besides supporting the Bulgarian claims, intensified their attacks against the Greek government trying to show that Greece had no rights over Macedonia, that they could not remain indefferent to the persecutions of the "Macedonians" in Greece and to their right to unite themselves with their brothers in Yugoslavia. At the Paris Peace Conference, on 6 September 1946, Yugoslavia called for the unification of Macedonia, which amounted in substance to a Yugoslav claim of Greek Macedonia[31]. The official posing of the Yugoslav claim to Greek Macedonia caused great concern to American and British officials, who thought this claim, coupled with the Bulgarian demand for western Thrace was a well designed Soviet plan to place the Soviet Union in a more strategic advantage on the Aegean side of the Turkish straits. It is evident that the "Macedonian question", besides being a Balkan problem, had become a threat for the entire Middle East. The Americans considered Greece the weakest link in the chain of threatened countries in the area, thus for Washington the most important aspect of the Macedonian problem was its relation to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Greece[32].

28. Tsola Dragoicheva, *Defeat to Victory*, Sofia 1983, p. 430.

29. Kondis, *Η αγγλοαμερικανική πολιτική*, p. 180.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, Volume 3, *Paris Peace Conference Proceedings*, Washington 1970, pp. 380-381.

32. DSR 868.00/7-2847, Department of State to Embasy at Athens, Washington, 28 July 1947.

The American and British concern about the unification scheme became more acute after the Tito-Dimitrov agreements at Bled in August 1947[33]. It is clear that although Bulgaria and Yugoslavia agreed to create the conditions for the Union, the Bulgarians thought this had to wait until after the federation, but they consented that Yugoslavia could carry an active program of cultural propaganda in the Pirin region. With the initiative of Tito in November, a Yugoslav-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship Collaboration and Mutual Assistance was signed. At this point, it became apparent that federation was not about to take place.

The matters of Yugoslav-Bulgarian federation remain something of a mystery as to why the Bulgarians were willing to agree even to the principle of federation. It has been suggested that Dimitrov was uncommitted whether to accept Yugoslav leadership in the Balkans, but tried to maintain friendly relations with Belgrade by carrying on negotiations for union in order to gain time, while carefully guarded Bulgarian interests, especially in respect to Macedonia. No Bulgarian government could afford to give up Pirin Macedonia without getting something in return. It is very probable that Bulgaria was willing to cede Pirin Macedonia only in return for territorial compensation, which would have given her an outlet through Greek territory to the Aegean[34].

The fact that Bulgaria could not get western Thrace, together with the break that was to occur between Tito and Stalin in June 1948, marked the end of the efforts for a Yugoslav-Bulgarian federation.

Following Tito's expulsion from the Cominform, Yugoslavia saw her own territorial integrity threatened by a revival of the old Comintern plan for an independent "Macedonian state" associated with the Bulgarians. The Greek Communist Party, also, endorsed the plan, on 29-30 January of 1949 at the Fifth Plenum, when re-introduced the pre-1935 platform for an independente "Macedonian state" within a Balkan Federation of People's Republics. This decision exercised a strongly disruptive effect upon the figthers of the Democratic Army who, as Greeks, were not fighting for the establishment of an "independent Macedonia". Some of the Slavo-Macedonians may have welcomed the prospect of an "independent Macedonia", but these people had always been distrusted by the Greek majority.

It is very probable that this new policy for self determination for Macedonia and its appeal to Macedonian nationalism had as its objective to sup-

33. For details about the Bled Agreement see Kofos, *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, pp. 161-164.

34. Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question*, p. 131.

port the Soviet policy of war of nerves against Tito and aimed to use the Macedonian autonomist movement chiefly to subvert Tito. This view became clearer with the announcement on 1 March 1949 that the second NOF Congress would be held in March and it would announce the union of Macedonia into a complete, independent and equal Macedonian nation within the People's Democratic Federation of the Balkan peoples[35].

This announcement alarmed Athens as did London and Washington. According to the British the whole plan "was sponsored from Moscow with possibly two objectives: (A) to aim at Tito by establishing under Dimitrov a hostile block in south Yugoslavia and (B) to give a pretext for the Slavs north of the Greek frontier to come over to fight for an autonomus state on Greek soil"[36].

It is probable that the "Macedonian state", with Bulgaria resuming her traditional role might have been primarily a Soviet move against Tito, as an attack on the territorial integrity of Greece. However, soon it became apparent to Zachariadis and to NOF leadership that the move was not a very astute one and the second NOF Congress on 25-26 March failed to announce the formation of a united Macedonia, but reiterated the old position that the "Macedonian people" would be able to decide freely their own status after the victory of the democratic Army in Greece.

The ostensible purpose of the Congress had clearly been to settle the long standing differences between the Greek Communist Party and the Greek Slavo-Macedonians by giving them a share in the leadership of the Democratic Army. One may consider that this Congress was preparing the way toward the emergence of an independent Macedonian state as Slavo-Macedonians entered the Provisional government.

The Greek government, on its side, desiring to eliminate the threat that presented to the entire Balkan area the creation of a "Macedonian State", suggested to London and Washington that the western powers should undertake an operation against Albania namely for two reasons; to forestall the danger of setting-up a "Macedonian state" and to eliminate Albania as a base for the Democratic Army, thus making easier its defeat[37]. To the British and the Americans the possibility of action against Albania was a tempting suggestion but they feared that it would have brought them into direct conflict

35. Barker, *Macedonia*, p. 120.

36. Public Record Office, Foreign Office 371/78396/2820, Norton (British ambassador) to Foreign Office, Athens, 12 March 1949.

37. Kondis, *Η αγγλοαμερικανική πολιτική*, pp. 382-384.

with the Soviets. Nevertheless, with the defeat of the Democratic Army in August 1949 the threat of an "independent Macedonian State" ceased to exist.

In retrospect, throughout the 1940s the "Macedonian question" was a dominant factor in Balkan politics and it was used as a political lever for the advancement of the national interests of the powers involved with Yugoslavia taking the lead with the creation of the "Macedonian nationality". This artificial creation had profound effect in wartime and post-war developments in the Balkans as it created the necessary conditions for Yugoslavia to attempt to solve the "Macedonian question" to its own benefit. Thus, "Macedonian" unification advocated by the Yugoslavs would contribute to an expansion of their influence in the Balkans and it would strengthen Yugoslavia's claims that there existed such a thing as a seperate "Macedonian nationality".

*PHIL. W. ANASTASIADIS*

# DER NEUGRIECHISCHE SUBDIALEKT DES FARASCHA-GEBIETS (KAPPADOKIEN) UND DER TURKISCHE EINFLUSS AUF SEINEN WORTSCHATZ

Der neugriechische Subdialekt von Farascha in Kappadokien wurde bis zur Niederlage Griechenlands in Kleinasien 1922 im Flecken Βαρασσός und in dessen Kolonien gesprochen, die südostwärts von Kayseri (Caesarea, Kappadokien) und rechts und links des Flusses Zamandis (Zammantdi Irmak) lagen. Bis zur kleinasiatischen Niederlage hiess nur der Hauptort Farascha und auch nur bei den Türken und türkisch sprechenden Griechen dieser Gegend südostwärts von Kayseri, wozu sie administrativ und kirchlich gehörte. Im Gegensatz dazu wurde er von den griechisch sprechenden Griechen, die diesen Subdialekt gebrauchten Βαρασσός genannt[1].

Immerhin heisst seit dem Jahre 1922, mit der «Rückkehr» der kleinasiatischen Griechen in das griechische Mutterland bei den verschiedenen Forschern Farascha nicht mehr nur der eine Flecken, sondern alle sechs Dörfer der Gegend, ο Βαρασσός (türkisch Faraşa), το Αφσάρι (türkisch Afşar-Köy), το Τσουχούρι (türkisch Çuhur-Yurt), η Κίσκα (türkisch Kiske, in der Antike Κισκισσός), ο Σατής (türkisch Sati) und το Φκόσι oder Γαρσαντής (türkisch Ğarsandi), in denen der faraschiotische Subdialekt gesprochen wurde.

Paul Karolidis, der sich mit Sprache und Geschichte Kappadokiens beschäftigte, schreibt in seinem Buch «Γλωσσάριον συγκριτικόν ἑλληνοκαππαδοκικῶν λέξεων, Σμύρνη 1855», dass Βαρασσός während des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts mehr als 800 Familien hatte, d.h. rund 5000 Einwohner. Uber die Zahl der Einwohner jedes Dorfes im einzelnen spricht auch R. Dawkins[2], der diese Dörfer im Jahre 1911 besuchte. Gemäss meinen mehrfach eingeholten und bestätigten Informationen von alten früheren Einwohnern Faraschas war die Bevölkerung dieser im Jahre 1922 grösser als die, welche R. Dawkins für das Jahr 1911 angibt: Αφσάρι hatte 350 Ein-

1. Θ. Θεοδωρίδη, «Τοπωνύμια και Λαογραφικά των Φαράσων», *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* ΙΓ' (1967) 208.

2. R. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Gabridge 1916, 31-35.

wohner, Ϯσουχούρι 485, Κίσκα 750, von denen etwa ein viertel Türken waren, Σατής 200, Φκόσι 400, von denen ziemlich viele Türken waren, und Βαρασός rund 2.000.

Der Subdialekt des Fleckens Βαρασός hatte ganz kleine Unterschiede, hauptsächlich morphologische und phonetische, gegenüber den Subdialekten seiner Umgebung. Wie alte Leute aus Farascha[3] erzählen, sind diese 5 Dörfer eigentlich Kolonien von Βαρασός, die vor ungefähr 200 Jahren gegründet wurden[4].

Im Gegensatz dazu behaupten bestimmte andere alte Leute aus der Farascha-Region (aus der Umgegend von Βαρασός: Σατής, Ϯσουχούρι und viele aus Κίσκα) sie seien nach ihren Dörfern aus Αφσάρι ausgewandert, das in früheren Zeiten (vor dem Jahr 1900) viel grösser als am Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts gewesen sei. Aber weil die Bevölkerung von Αφσάρι sich vermehrt und das Ackerland nicht genügt habe, seien sie gezwungen gewesen die anderen Dörfer des Farascha—Bereichs zu gründen. Φκόσι, das südlichste Dorf an der Grenze Kappadokiens und Kilikiens, hatte viele Türken, und deshalb enthält sein Subdialekt, im Vergleich zu denen der anderen Farascha-Dörfer, die meisten türkischen Wörter. Auf alle Fälle hat Βαρασός die wenigsten türkischen Einflüsse.

Die wichtigsten der kleinen phonetischen und morphologischen Unterschiede des Subdialekts von Βαρασός zu denen seiner Umgegend sind die folgenden:

1. In einigen türkischen und griechischen Wörtern haben die Umgegend—und besonders Αφσάρι und Ϯσουχούρι - α oder ᾱ, während Βαρασός ε oder α hat: χωράφα (= Felder) - χωράφε, πιλά (= auch) - πιλέ (türk. bile) ϯσαράς (= Nutzen, Gewinn) - ϯσαρές (türk. çare).
2. Bei den Endungen der Substantive und Adjektive und bei der Endung der ersten Person des aktiven Präsens haben die anderen Dörfer ου, während Βαρασός ο hat: σαπούχους (= umgekehrt) - σαπούχος (türk. sapik), λύκους (= wolf) - λύκος, δάκνου (= ich beisse) - δάκνω.
3. Die Subdialekten der Umgebung werwandeln den umbetonten Endungsvokal (ε) der Verben (Aktiv und Passiv) in ι, wie die nördlichen neugriechischen Idiome: Aktiv (präsens): δάκνουμι (=wir beissen) - δάκνουμε, δάκνιτι (= ihr beisst) - δάκνετε, (imperf.): δακνίνκις (= du bissest) - δακνίϋκες, δακνίϋκιν (= er biss) - δακνίϋκεν, (Aorist): ήφαρις (= du brachstet) - ήφαρες, ήφαριν (= er brachte) - ήφαρεν u.s.w., Passiv (Präs-

3. Θ. Θεοδωρίδη, *a.a.O.*, 204-205 und 208-211.
4. *Ebendort* 205.

sens): ἐρχουμι (= ich komme) - ἐρχουμαι, ἐρ͡τ ͡σισι (= du kommst) - ἐρ͡τ ͡σεσαι, ἐρ͡τ ͡σιτι (= er kommt) - ἐ ρ͡τ ͡σεται, ερχούμιστι (= wir kommen) - ερχούμεστε, ἐρ͡τ ͡σιστι (= ihr kommt) - ἐρ͡τ ͡σεστε, ἐρχουντι (= sie kommen) - ἐρχουνται, (imperf.): ερχούμιστι (= wir kamen) - ερχούμεστε, ερχούσιστι und ερχούστι (= ihr kamt) - ερχούσεστε und ερχούστε, ερχούσαν(τι) (= sie kamen) - ερχούσαντε.,

4. Dieselben Subdialekten verändern weiter das unbetonte ε in ι vor den Endungen des Aorists im Aktiv, der auf - εψα und - εξα ausgeht: (γρεύω = ich sehe): ήγριψα (=ich sah) - ήγρεψα, ήγριψις (= du sahst) - ήγρεψες, ήγριψιν (= er sah) - ήγρεψεν, (πλέκω = ich stricke): έπλιξα (= ich strickte) - έπλεξα usw. Sie verwandeln nämlich generell das unbetonte ε in ι, wie die nordneugriechischen Idiome.

Durch den lange Zeit dauernden Kontakt der Griechen Kappadokiens mit den Türken, der schon im elften Jahrhundert begann, drangen in die kappadokischen Dialekten viel türkische Wörter ein. Aber auch die Türken übernahmen recht viele Wörter von anderen Völkern. Jedoch trugen geographische, religiöse, politische und kulturelle, also in weitesten Sinne geschichtliche Gründe dazu bei, dass sie die meisten dieser Wörter von den Arabern und Persern übernahmen. So drangen manche Wörter, die die Türken von diesen zwei Völkern übernahmen, auch in den Farascha - Subdialekt Kappadokiens ein. Bei dieser Untersuchung berücksichtigte ich sehr wenige echt türkische Lehnwörter im Farascha-Subdialekt, sowie kaum türkische Lehnwörter im Subdialekt, die selbst aus europäischen Sprachen entlehnt sind.

Andererseits aber bemühte ich mich, möglichst alle türkischen Wörter im Subdialekt des Farascha-Gebiets zu berücksichtigen, die aus den Arabischen (518) Vokabeln und aus dem Persischen (213) stammen. Allerdings übernahmen wahrscheinlich die Einwohner von Farascha bestimmte Wörter schon direkt von den Arabern und Persern zu den Zeiten, als diese Völker in Kleinasien einfielen und Kappadokien eroberten. Ich bin der Meinung, dass auch manche «europäische» Wörter dieses Subdialekts, die zugleich im Türkischen zu finden sind, direkt aus diesen Völkern entlehnt wurden.

Bekanntlich unterwurfen die Perser Kappadokien schon im sechsten Jahrhundert v. Chr. und eroberten Mitte desselben Jahrhunderts ganz Kleinasien. Im Mittelalter waren dann Invasionen der Perser in Kleinasien und besonders in Kappadokien häufig. Hauptsächlich seit dem achten Jahrhundert fielen die Araber in Kleinasien und vor allem in Kappadokien ein und gründeten sogar einen unabhängigen Kleinasiatischen Staat, den Arabischen Staat Kilikiens. Deswegen müssen die Farascha-Griechen einige solche Wörter

bestimmt direkt von diesen Völkern und nicht von den Türken übernommen haben. Wenn man nun die persischen und arabischen Wörter überprüft, die die türkische Sprache entlehnte und die gleichzeitig in den faraschiotischen Subdialekt eindrangen, stellen wir fest, dass es sich haupsächlich um Begriffe einer entwickelten Kultur handelt. Es erweist sich also auch aus der Sprachgeschichte, dass diese Völker eine höhere Kultur als die Türken hatten und die letzteren ihnen viele verdanken. Insgesamt kommen von den 2146 türkischen Wörtern des faraschiotischen Subdialekts 779 aus anderen Sprachen oder sie sind wenigstens auch in anderen Sprachen zu finden. 518 sind arabisch, 213 persisch, 21 griechische Lehnwörter, 18 italienisch, 4 französisch, 2 englisch und je 1 lateinisch, ungarisch, deutsch. Von diesen Wörtern sind 1310 Substantive, 369 Verben, 322 Adjektive, 12 Pronomina, 99 Adverbien, 15 Konjuktionen, 13 Interjektionen, 3 Zahlwörter und 3 Partikeln. Von den Substatveinn sind 161 Ableitungen von aus dem Türkischen entlehnten faraschiotischen Wörtern, überwiegend abstrakte Verbalsubstantive auf -ημα und seltener auf -ισμα, die Handlungen bedeuten.

Von den 2073 Wörtern (die restlichen 73 sind von Adjektiven abgeleitete Adverbien) betreffen 720 den Menschen: Bezeichnungen von Gliedern des Körpers, Gestalt, Farbe und körperlicher sowie natürlicher und seelischer Eingeschaften und Handlungen des Menschen, 359 das Haus und das Familienleben, 297 das gesellschaftliche und politische Leben, 237 das Leben des Bauern und Viehzüchters, 153 den Handel, das Handwerk und das Berufsleben, 142 die Natur; 106 sind verschiedene undeklinierbare Wörter, und nur 59 Betreffen das religiöse Leben, und zwar das mochammedanische der Türken. Die Wörter des Türkischen, die generell in die griechische Sprache eindrangen, «gehen Bereiche der menschlichen Aktivität an, die mehr materiell sind, wohingegen die griechischen Wörter des Türkischen zu geistigeren Sphären der menschlichen Aktivität gehören»[5].

Bei dieser meiner Untersuchung stützte ich mich hauptsächlich auf die

5. Χ. Συμεωνίδη, «Η ελληνική επίδραση στην τουρκική γλώσσα και ο ρόλος της ποντιακής», *Ποντιακή Εστία* 25 (1979) 24.

Anmerkung zur Aussprache der für die Schreibung des Farascha-Subdialekts verwendeten Sonderzeichen:

α = überoffenes (ε)
κ, π, τ = (k, p, t) mit starker Aspiration
σ̂, τσ̂ = deutsches sch, tsch
ν̂ = palatales ν der neugriechischen Standardsprache, z.b. in εννιά.

mündliche Tradition und auf sprachliches Material aus Βαραϑός, Αφϑάρι und Τϑουχούρι in der Farascha-Region Kappadokiens. Obwohl meine Abstammung faraschiotisch ist (aus Αφϑάρι), beschränkte ich mich trotztem nicht nur auf die einschlägige Bibliographie und auf meine eigene Kenntnis des Subdialekts, sondern kontrollierte ich mein sprachliches Material, in dem ich verschiedene alte Männer und Frauen aus Farascha befragte, so dass meine Arbeit vollständiger wurde. Ich glaube in die von mir behandelten Wörter fast alle Turzismen des faraschiotischen Subdialekts mit einbezogen zu haben. Es sind mir aber natürlich welche entgangen, doch hoffe ich, dass es nur wenige sind.

Zum Schluss muss ich noch folgendes bemerken: Die Untersuchung des faraschiotischen Subdialekts ergibt, dass dieser entlegene, isolierte Subdialekt von übrigen Griechentum im Herzen der Osttürkei alle aus dem Türkischen übernommenen flektierten Wörter (Nomina, Substantive und Adjektive; Verben; Pronomina) assimiliert, d.h. sie seiner griechischen Morphologie angepasst hat. So erweist sich wieder einmal die grosse Assimilationsfähigkeit der griechischen Sprache und zugleich die Widerstandsfähigkeit des Griechentums gegenüber fremden Einflüssen und jeder Art von Fremdherrschaft.

*MARIA NEGREPONTI-DELIVANIS*

# LE RÔLE DES RÉGIONS INSUFFISAMMENT DÉVELOPPÉES DE L'EUROPE RECONSIDÉRÉ

La C.C.E. pendant ces trente années de son existence a, simplement, envisagé ses pays et régions insuffisamment évolués comme un fardeau; comme des parents pauvres et des membres inefficaces, qui peuvent recevoir une aumône, quand la conjoncture économique est favorable, mais qui doivent par contre comprendre que celle-ci ne peut pas continuer quand leur parents riches ont eux-aussi des problèmes. C'est ainsi, que l'aide très insuffisante, accordée aux régions insuffisamment évoluées de la Communauté n'a pas su diminuer les différences du revenu par tête entre elles. En plus, cette aide a surtout abouti, jusqu'en 1973, à un transfert de population des régions pauvres vers les régions riches et non point à l'effort de développement économique des premières.

Dans cet exposé je vais essayer de montrer que la politique régionale de la Communauté a, de cette façon, négligé 60% environ d'elle-même (representé par ses régions insuffisamment évoluées) en s'occupant simplement du 40% du "problème Europe" (representé par ses régions suffisamment évoluées ou, encore, économiquement mûres).

Néanmoins, après 1973, cette attitude de la Communauté vis-à-vis de ses régions arriérées devient de plus en plus problématique car:

— d'une part, la guerre économique s'intensifie et
— d'autre part, la Communauté dans son ensemble n'arrive plus à assurer des rythmes de croissance élevés, tandis que ses régions économiquement mûres sont en train de préparer leur passage vers le stade post-industriel.

Il est, donc, difficile à comprendre l'indifférence de la Communauté Européenne vis-à-vis de ses régions arriérées, qui, sous certaines conditions, peuvent s'avérer sa bouée de sauvetage. En effet, ces régions, ont encore devant elles le processus du développement, disposent d'un degré de capitalisme moins prononcé qu'ailleurs, leur rapide développement économique et technologique peut assurer des avantages comparatifs élevés et, enfin, représentent pour la partie mûre de la Communauté des nouveaux horizons,

économiques et géographiques; il est, en plus, difficile à comprendre son insistence de voir chez elles uniquement des problèmes et pas en même temps des solutions futures; car, dans ce domaine, il y a la longue expérience du passé des ex-colonies européennes, qui ont agi en "oasis" pour le capitalisme mûr; il y a encore l'histoire plus récente des E.U. qui, dès que les premiers signes de maturité ont fait leur apparition dans l'économie américaine, après la seconde guerre mondiale, ils se sont dépêchés de développer leurs régions du Pacifique et de l'Ouest. D'autre part, la politique régionale appliquée par la Communauté, pendant les trente ans de son existence, n'a du tout pris en considération que, sous certaines conditions, les retardataires au processus du développement arrivent à assurer des rythmes de croissance supérieurs

*P.I.B. per capita ($ des E.U. per capita)*

| *min.* | *1870* | | *1950* | | | *1960* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| max. | | Gap. | | | Gap. | | | Gap. |
| Japon | 248 | (81,5%) | Jap. | 567 | (82,5%) | Jap. | 1181 | (68%) |
| Austral. | 1340 | | E.U. | 3223 | | E.U. | 3720 | |
| | | $ 1092 | | | $ 2656 | | | $ 3925 |
| | | 1:019 | | | 1:018 | | | 1:032 |

| *min.* | *1970* | | *1976* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| max. | | Gap. | | | Gap. |
| Ital. | 2666 | (44 %) | Ital. | 3026 | (44 %) |
| E.U. | 4879 | | E.U. | 5412 | |
| | | $ 2123 | | | $ 2386 |
| | | 1:056 | | | 1:056 |

*Source:* Elaboration des données statistiques, basée sur Angus Maddison, *Growth and Structural Change in the Advanced Countries, in Western Economies in Transition*, ed. by I. Levenson and J. W. Wheeler, Hudson Institute, 1980, p. 46.

à ceux des premiers arrivés[1]. De ce point de vue, les régions arriérées de la Communauté peuvent devenir une locomotive de progrès pour elle.

Si l'on considère, donc, le problème de la coéxistence dans le sein de la Communauté, des régions riches et pauvres, sous cet angle, il faudrait, complétement modifier la manière de construction des statistiques régionales; soit, de présenter tout écart entre régions comme un développement potentiel. Ainsi, un écart actuel considérable serait considéré comme une marge suffisante à exploiter dans l'avenir.

Les régions arriérées, vues sous cet angle nouveau sont, effectivement:

— moins problématiques que les régions européennes économiques mûres; car, ces dernières montrent déjà une incapacité grandissante à poursuivre leur croissance à des rythmes élevés, tandis que les régions insuffisamment évoluées ont, devant elles, tout leur développement potentiel; à travers ce dernier, elles peuvent alléger le problème de matûrité de la Communauté dans son ensemble;

— en principe, seraient contre toute politique qui aviserait la division de la Communauté en Europe de deux vitesses;

— elles seraient en faveur d'une politique régionale de la Communauté qui mettrait en évidence des critères purement économiques au lieu des critères sociaux, qui prévalent actuellement.

Je vais essayer d'examiner mon sujet dans deux Parties principales, qui seront les suivantes:

I. La Communauté Européenne face à la théorie de la stagnation économique.

II. Les régions arriérées européennes: la bouée de sauvetage de la C.E.E.

1. En 1870 le Japon a le revenu par tête le plus bas, tandis que l'Australie le plus élevé; le premier représente seulement le 18,5% du second. En 1950, l'Australie n'a plus le revenu par tête le plus élevé; celui-ci ne représente que 73,3% du plus haut, qui appartient aux E.U. En 1950 le Japon continue à avoir le revenu par tête le plus bas. En 1970 la situation se modifie: le revenu par tête du Japon est de 11% supérieur à celui de l'Italie et seulement 1,6 fois inférieur à celui des E.U. D'autre part, en 1970 l'Italie a le revenu par tête le plus bas; tout de même, le gap entre le revenu par tête le plus élevé et le plus bas n'est que la moitié de celui de 1870. En 1976 le Japon a déjà éliminé la plus grande partie du gap enre son revenu par tête et celui des E.U.; ce gap, de 81,5% en 1870 n'est plus, en 1976, que 30% et tandis qu'en 1870 le Japon était le dernier dans la liste des pays de capitalisme avancé en 1976 a déjà laissé derrière lui la Grande Bretagne et l'Italie.

*PARTIE I*

## LA COMMUNAUTÉ EUROPÉENNE FACE À LA THÉORIE DE LA STAGNATION ÉCONOMIQUE

L'abandon de la pratique keynésienne par les pays de capitalisme mûr, après 1973, timidement au début et de plus en plus décidément depuis n'est guère fortuit; ce sont les besoins et les caractéristiques spéciales de chaque stade d'évolution capitaliste, qui fixent la politique économique appropriée. Après la seconde guerre mondiale et jusqu'en 1970, le stade de l'industrialisation traditionnelle avait besoin d'une demande effective croissante. Ce besoin a favorisé la pratique d'une répartition des revenus plus équitable, de plein emploi, des politiques sociales et d'intervention étatique, de tolérance des déficits budgétaires et de taux d'inflation élevés combinés avec un budget gouvernemental en expansion dans le P.I.B., en un mot, le keynésianisme. Tout de même, après 1970, les changements intervenus dans tous les pays de capitalisme mûr, dans le domaine économique, social et technologique ont créé petit à petit un phénomène de saturation relative des besoins, qui furent à la base de leur développement spectaculaire de la période après la seconde guerre mondiale et en même temps, des nouveaux modèles de consommation. Le monde capitaliste a déjà besoin d'un nouveau visage à travers sa restructuration économique pour pouvoir passer dans le stade post-industriel, et a également besoin d'une politique économique autre que la politique keynésienne; le retour indiscutable déjà vers les lignes directrices de la politique des classiques et des néo-classiques en découle.

Le degré élevé de capitalisme, présent par excellence, pendant des périodes de transition d'un stade d'évolution vers le suivant, fut constamment considéré dans la théorie économique, comme un grave problème. J. S. Mill[2], Malthus[3], K. Marx[4], Rosa Luxembourg[5], Lénine[6], M. Keynes[7], J. Schumpeter[8], A.

2. J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, London: Longman 1892, p. 452.

3. Malthus, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd edition, New York 1952, p. 342.

4. K. Marx, and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, New York: International Publisher, 1947, p. 22.

5. Rosa Luxembourg and Nikolai Bukharin, *Imperialism and the Accummulation of Capital*, edited by K. J. Tarluck (translated by Rudolf Wichmann), Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.

6. V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, New York 1934, p. 80.

7. J. M. Keynes, "General Theory, Chapitre XI and Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren", in *Essays in Persuasion*, New York: Norton, 1963, pp. 371-2.

8. Joseph Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, New York 1954, p. 573, *Theory of Economic Development*, Germany 1911, p. 64 and *Business Cycles*, 1939, Chapitre 7.

Hansen[9], S. Kuznets[10], D. Harvey[11], K. Boulding[12] et autres se trouvent tous d'accord, que:

a) Le capitalisme n'est pas en état d'assurer, sans cesse, des rythmes de croissance élevés; il est soumis à des fluctuations beaucoup plus graves et plus longues que celles comprises dans le cycle économique; celles-ci sont dues à des évolutions internes du système, telles que la tendance de surcapitalisation ou la saturation relative des besoins-moteurs du développement d'un stade économique donné. Le problème du capitalisme apparaît sous la forme d'une demande effective insuffisante.

b) Le remède efficace aux problèmes du capitalisme mûr, remède efficace jusqu'à sa prochaine crise, et reconnu comme tel dans la théorie économique fut, certainement, "la conquête des nouveaux horizons économiques et géographiques", dans lesquels le degré du capitalisme est moins prononcé; dans lesquels, le niveau de développement économique et industriel acquis est encore bas.

Il est certain que le colonialisme appartient au passé. Mais sa philosophie économique survit sous des formes diverses visant toujours au même but et ayant plus ou moins les mêmes résultats; l'incorporation, au processus d'un développement rapide des régions arriérées se trouvant dans une économie évoluée et ayant des problèmes de matûrité en est une; la préférence de certaines économies du tiers monde, par des investisseurs provenant des riches en est une autre.

Sous cet angle, alors, la C.E.E. dans son ensemble participe avec les E.U. et le Japon, dans la guerre économique internationale, qui s'intensifie constamment, et en même temps elle doit faire face à des signes de matûrité économique, qui la menacent. Tout de même, sans avoir encore manqué la guerre, la C.E.E., vis à vis des Etats-Unis et du Japon, se trouve dans une situation difficile de plusieurs points de vue:

— La réduction de l'étendue du marché interne de la Communauté, mesurée par la chute du pourcentage des importations couvert par ses exportations vers les E.U. et le Japon est un fait après 1973; celui-

9. A. Hansen, *Full Recovery or Stagnation*, New York 1938.

10. S. Kuznets, *National Product since 1896*, New York 1946 and *Economic Change*, Norton, New York, 1953, p. 281.

11. David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1982, Chapitres 12 et 13.

12. Kenneth Boulding, *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century: The Great Transition*, New York, Harper and Row, 1965, pp. 1, 2 and 24.

ci signifie qu'une partie grandissante de la demande interne de la C.E.E. est satisfaite par produits importés.

— La réduction du marché extérieur de la C.E.E., qui peut être mesurée par la chute de sa part dans les exportations mondiales, en faveur du Japon, mais également en faveur de quelques économies du tiers-monde, qui réalisent des rythmes de croissance élevés et qui augmentent leurs exportations à un rythme annuel de 30 à 50%[13].

— Malgré les difficultés économiques envisagées après 1973, par la C.E.E., le Japon et les E.U., la C.E.E. ne fut guère capable, dans son ensemble, de créer de nouveaux postes d'emploi, tandis que le Japon et, également, les E.U. ont eu du succès dans ce domaine.

— La C.E.E., d'autre part, se montre au dernier rang, en comparaison avec les E.U. et le Japon, en ce qui concerne le rendement de 100 industries se trouvant en tête[14].

— Le décalage technologique, qui existe entre la C.E.E. d'une part et le Japon et les E.U. d'autre doit être, principalement, attribué au fait que la C.E.E., en fonctionnant sous des règles nationales et non point communautaires, aménuise son degrè de compétitivité sur le plan international.

— La C.E.E., en comparaison avec le Japon, mais aussi avec les E.U. marque, après 1973, du pourcentage d'installations productives oisives le plus élevé.

Les quelques constatations et indices comparatifs ci-dessus montrent que la C.E.E. s'avère moins equipée que ses deux principaux adversaires dans cette guerre économique, qu'elle se montre pourtant décidée à gagner.

L'idée directrice de cet article est que la C.E.E. n'exploite pas ses possibilités, qui sont encore immenses: soit, ses régions arriérées. Son inertie, dans ce domaine l'empêche d'accroître le ratio des activités modernes et compétitives vis à vis des activités traditionnelles, à productivité peu élevée et peu compétitives; et, pourtant, ses marges potentielles d'exploitation, afin de lutter contre son degré de matûrité grandissant sont supérieures à celles des E.U. (pas, évidemment, à celles du Japon). Afin de soutenir l'argument ci-dessus, je vais me référer, très brièvement, aux raisons principales, qui

13. R. D. Horevats, *The Policy Context, Western Economies in Transition: Structural Change and Adjustment Policies in Industrial Countries*, ed. by I. Levenson and J. W. Wheeler, Hudson Institute, 1980, pp. 1-8.

14. *Le Nouvel Economiste*, Spécial 5000-No hors série, déc. 1981.

amènent à la matûrité et à la stagnation économique. Elles représentent quatre vastes groupes; les suivants:

1) L'impossibilité d'élargir davantage l'importance de l'industrie traditionnelle, qui prend la forme d'une désindustrialisation en faveur des services[15].
2) La chute du rythme d'accroissement de la demande effective, combinée avec l'application d'une politique d'austerité.
3) Le retard dans l'application du progrès technologique.
4) Le pourcentage grandissant du chômage dans la population active.

La C.E.E. dans son ensemble dispose, encore, du potentiel, grâce à ses régions arriérées, pour faire face à tous ces quatre groupes des raisons principales de stagnation économique, vis à vis des E.U. qui n'en disposent guère. Ce potentiel provient tout d'abord du mode insufisamment évolué de la répartition d'emploi par secteurs d'activité. Dans la décennie 1970-80 la C.E.E. a réalisé un rythme de transfert d'emploi agricole vers des activités non-agricoles à productivité plus élevée, qui fut de loin supérieur à celui des E.U. (mais moins élevé qu'à celui du Japon). Le transfert de population active agricole vers le secteur sécondaire double presque la productivité par personne occupée[16]. La C.E.E. dispose encore d'une population agricole égale à 10% environ de la population active, tandis que les E.U. moins de 3%. Par contre, l'accroissement de la productivité par personne occupée est beaucoup moins important dans le cas du transfert des agriculteurs vers le secteur tertiaire, tandis que le transfert de population active du sécondaire vers le tertiaire aboutit à une chute de productivité, par personne occupée. La C.E.E., donc, a encore les réserves nécessaires afin d'élargir davantage l'importance de son industrie, qui fut la force motrice du développement rapide des économies du capitalisme évolué, après la seconde guerre mondiale et ne se voit pas obligée (comme les E.U.) de procéder à une désindustrialisation; les marges,

15. W. W. Rostow, *Growth at Different Levels of Income and Stage of Growth: Reflexions on Why the Poor Get Richer and the Rich Slow Down, in Research in Economic History*, Vol. 3, 1978, p. 69, N. Kaldor, "Economic Growth and the Verdoorn Law: A Comment on Mr Routhorn's Article", *Economic Journal*, déc. 1975, pp. 894-5, N. Kaldor, *Causes of the Slow Rate of Growth of the United Kingdom, an Inaugural Lecture Cambridge*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966, pp. 30-1, J. Cornwall, *Modern Capitalism: Its Growth and Transformation*, Oxford, Martin Robertson, 1977, p. 135, G. B. Stafford, *The End of Economic Growth?*, Martin Robinson, Oxford 1981, p. 52, R. Harrod, "Assessing the Trade Returns", *Economic Journal*, sept. 1967, pp. 507-8 et autres.

16. Angus Maddison, *Growth and Structural Change in the Advanced Countries, in Western Economies in Transition, op. cit.*, 1980, p. 56.

encore vastes, de l'occupation agricole lui assure de main d'œuvre relativement bon marché pour l'élargissement de sa base industrielle, ainsi qu'un rythme élevé d'absorption de progrès technique, qui sont en train de diminuer au fur et à mesure qu'un pays se désindustrialise.

Les avantages comparatifs de l'incorporation des régions arriérées au processus rapide de développement et d'industrialisation proviennent de cinq catégories de variables, les suivantes:

a) Les régions arriérées sont aidées à réaliser une performance souvent impressionante, dans le domaine de progrès économique, par leur possibilité d'absorber rapidemment le progrès technique déjà existant[17].

b) Les régions arriérées, du moment ou elles s'incorporent dans un processus de développment, elles sont en état de réaliser des rythmes élevés d'investissement et sans doute supérieurs en comparaison avec ceux des régions déjà développées ou même mûres[18].

c) Du fait que les habitants des régions arriérées n'étaient, pendantl ongtemps, en état de suivre le modèle de consommation prévalant dans les régions plus évoluées, dès que leur revenu par tête s'élève, ils s'empressent d'accroître leur propension à consommer[19].

d) Par un processus cumulatif bien connu, les régions qui entrent les premières dans le processus de développement, absorbent sans cesse des ressources nationales et les facteurs de production, provenant des régions, qui, pour un tas de raisons, étaient moins favorisées au début[20]. Le décalage du niveau de développement augmente, donc, dans le temps en créant également une répartition de plus en plus inéquitable des ressources sur le niveau national (et bien évidemment, sur le niveau communautaire). Tout de même, la poursuite de l'expansion économique des régions mûres au délà d'un "seuil critique" est liée avec un tas de conséquences négatives, dont la neutralisation peut commencer seulement par une répartition géographique moins

17. W. W. Rostow, *Growth at Different Levels, op. cit.*, 1978, p. 55, M. Negreponti-Delivanis, "Réflexions sur le problème du rendement du progrès technique", *Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Emile James*, 1979, Paris, pp. 293 et suiv.

18. A. Hansen, *op. cit.*, 1938, pp. 312-3.

19. J. Duesenberry, *Income, Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behavior*, Cambridge Mass. 1962, Chapitre III.

20. G. Myrdal, *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions*, London: Duckworth and Goltd, 1957, p. 27.

inéquitable des ressources et des facteurs productifs[21].

e) L'expansion rapide des secteurs-pilotes se trouvait depuis toujours à la base d'un développement économique rapide[22]. Les régions européennes arriérées, dans la mesure dans laquelle elles se présentent pour la C.E.E. comme "des nouveaux horizons géographiques et économiques", elles peuvent lui assurer un rythme d'expansion des secteurs-pilotes, supérieur à celui dans ses régions mûres car, entre autres:
   — celles-ci contiennent la promesse d'un "départ",
   — celles-ci, dans leur ensemble, présentent un degré moins élevé de surcapitalisation,
   — celles-ci justifient l'espoir de réaliser, dans les premières phases de leur industrialisation, des économies d'échelle importantes,
   — le ratio marginal élevé du capital/rendement, dans les premières phases du processus de développement des régions arriérées pourrait déclencher des conséquences positives importantes provenant du multiplicateur et de l'accélérateur,
   — les changements structurels, dans le domaine d'emploi des régions arriérées, iront de pair avec une augmentation de la productivité du travail et du capital investi, tandis que la chute de la population agricole nécessitera de moins en moins des fonds communautaires.

En terminant la première Partie de mon exposé et à la place de conclusions, je voudrais insister sur le fait qu'à mon avis, toute sorte de doutes concernant l'aptitude des régions européennes arriérées à se développer rapidemment place l'ensemble du problème "Europe" sous un angle erronné. En effet, un grand nombre d'expériences recentes nie un pareil point de vue[23]. En plus, un tas de modifications importantes, dans le domaine de la nouvelle technologie[24] et du "management" international[25] sont en faveur du rapide développement de la partie arriérée de l'Europe.

21. C.E.C.A., *Premier Rapport Général*, p. 45, L. H. Klaassen, *Regional Policy in the Benelux Countries Int.*, Meyer ed., P. Varaiya and M. Wiseman, "The Age of Cities and the Movement of Manufacturing Employment, 1947-77", in *Regional Science Association Papers and Proceedings*, 41, 1979, p. 118, M. S. Fogarto and G. Garofalo, an "Exploration of the Real Productivity Effects of Cities", *The Review of Regional Studies*, 8, 1:65-82, 1978, et autres.

22. W. W. Rostow, *The World Economy, op. cit.*, 1978, p. 369.

23. P. M. Slowe, *The Advance Factory in Regional Development*, Gower Publishing Company, Hampshire, 1981, Conclusions du Chapitre Cinq, Morgan Sant, "Regional Policy and Planning for Europe", University of East Anglia, 1974 et autres.

24. P. M. Slowe, *op. cit.*

25. *European Trends*, No 73: nov. 1982, "The Economist Intelligence Unit. Ltd.", p. 45 et suiv.

*PARTIE II*

## LES RÉGIONS ARRIÉRÉES DE L'EUROPE: SA BOUÉE DE SAUVETAGE

Je vais examiner cette seconde et dernière Partie de mon exposé dans deux paragraphes:

§1. L'écart vu comme moteur de croissance.

§2. Les conséquences de la disposition de l'écart.

### *§ 1. L'écart vu comme moteur de croissance*

#### *1. L'écart structurel*

L'Europe des 12 comprend 73% de son étendue et 45,6% de sa population où le pourcentage d'occupation agricole ainsi que le pourcentage des travailleurs indépendants est supérieur au niveau moyen de la Communauté.

Dans le Tableau I, j'ai essayé de mesurer cet écart.

*TABLEAU I*

*Régions européennes, qui ont un niveau d'occupation agricole et des travailleurs indépendants, supérieur au niveau communautaire*

| *Nombre des régions* | *Région* | *Population* |
|---|---|---|
| | Europe 12=100 | Europe 12=100 |
| Agriculture Europe 12=53 | 73% | 45,6% |
| Travailleurs indép. Europe 12=41 | 66,5% | 46% |

*Source:* Eurostat (élaboration par l'auteur)

Le pourcentage des agriculteurs dans les régions européennes arriérées est de l'ordre de 18% comparé avec 10% sur le niveau communautaire. L'absorption de l'emploi agricole excédentaire amènerait le pourcentage des

agriculteurs de la Communauté à 6,4% dans la population active totale. D'autre part, l'absorption de l'emploi du travail indépendant excédentaire, dans les régions européennes arriérées amènerait leur pourcentage, sur le niveau de la Communauté, de 18,7% actuellement à 14,2%.

Dans le Tableau II, j'ai estimé l'occupation non-agricole par grandes catégories socio-professionnelles et en pourcentages dans l'occupation globale.

*TABLEAU II*

*Occupation non-agricole par grandes catégories socio-professionnelles dans l'occupation globale*

| | *Travailleurs indépendants* | *Salariés* |
|---|---|---|
| Régions | Europe 12 | Europe 12 |
| Régions arriérées | 29,7 | 70,3 |
| Reste | 11,1 | 88,9 |

*Source:* Eurostat (élaboration par l'auteur)

Le ratio des salariés dans les travailleurs indépendants est 2,36 dans les régions arriérées de l'Europe, tandis que celui-ci est 8,00 dans le reste de l'Europe.

*2. L'écart du revenu par tête*

Dans l'effort d'estimer quelques aspects de l'écart entre les régions européennes arriérées et le niveau moyen de la Communauté, tout en le considérant comme avantage potentiel et non plus comme un problème, j'ai choisi une présentation inverse à celle, généralement, poursuivie dans ce cas. D'après celle-ci:

— les régions arriérées de la Communauté dans lesquelles le P.I.B. par tête est inférieur au niveau moyen représentent le 50,5% de sa population totale et assurent le 40,9% du P.I.B. communautaire

— cet écart signifie que le P.I.B. par tête des régions européennes arriérées représente le 84% du P.I.B. moyen européen par tête, ou celui-ci représente un écart de 16% en comparaison avec le niveau moyen communautaire.

*3. D'autres écarts concernant la consommation et l'investissement*

*a) Consommation finale des ménages par habitant*

Cet écart à été estimé parmi les états-membres de l'Europe des 10 et pas parmi les différentes régions européennes, faute des données appropriées. La différence de consommation par habitant, du niveau moyen communautaire, est ainsi approximativement de 20%. En prenant en considération l'Espagne et le Portugal, chez lesquelles pourtant les données respectives ne sont pas comparatives au reste, cette différence deviendrait beaucoup plus importante.

*b) Voitures privées et TV sets par 1000 habitants*

Cet écart, entre les régions arriérées de la Communauté et le niveau moyen communautaire a été estimé à 11%, en ce qui concerne les voitures privées et à 11,3% en ce qui concerne les TV sets.

*4. L'écart concernant le nombre des médecins par 100.000 habitants*

Cet écart, entre régions européennes arriérées et niveau moyen communautaire a été estimé à 11,1%.

*§ 2. Les conséquences de la disparition de l'écart*

La construction d'un modèle qui serait en état d'estimer les conséquences directes et indirectes de la disparition du "gap" de développement entre les régions arriérées et le niveau moyen communautaires s'est avérée impossible, surtout pour les raisons suivantes:

— manque des séries statistiques chronologiques des variables de base en nombre suffisant; le plus souvent une seule était disponible
— la non-coincidence chronologique des données statistiques régionales avec les variables de base
— la présentation non-homogène des variables de base
— la présentation des données régionales soit sur le niveau national, soit sur le niveau communautaire.

A cause des difficultés ci-haut, qui furent insurmontables, je me suis vûe obligée de me contenter à une simple estimation des conséquences directes et évidentes de la disparition de ce "gap". Tout de même, celles-ci ne représentent qu'une fraction minime du total potentiel.

### *A. Conséquences directes*

#### *a) L'emploi agricole excédentaire*

L'occupation agricole excédentaire dans les régions arriérées européennes monte approximativement, à 4.480.000 agriculteurs de plus de ceux que la Communauté aurait pu avoir, si la structure d'emploi de ses régions arriérées était pareille à celle de son niveau moyen.

L'absorption de cet emploi agricole excédentaire, sur le niveau communautaire signifierait entre d'autres:

— la réduction des dépenses du F.E.O.G.A. de 45,6% ainsi que la minimisation des problèmes concernant la production agricole communautaire, qui dépasse sa demande

— le transfert des agriculteurs excédentaires vers des activités à productivité plus élevée pourrait augmenter le P.I.B. communautaire de 5% approximativement.

#### *b) Le travail indépendant excédentaire*

Les travailleurs indépendants excédentaires, y compris les agriculteurs, sont estimés dans les régions européennes arriérées, en comparaison avec le niveau moyen communautaire, à 17.500.000 personnes environ; leur transfert vers la catégorie des salariés, du fait que celui-ci présuppose des transformations structurelles nécessaires pour la réalisation d'un niveau de développement supérieur, est lié à un accroissement de leur productivité.

#### *c) Le "gap" du P.I.B. par tête*

L'absorption du "gap" dans le P.I.B. par tête entre les régions arriérées et le niveau moyen communautaire, combiné avec un processus de développement de ces premières et non point avec une émigration de leur population active vers les régions économiquement plus avancées, et sous la condition de ceteris paribus du niveau moyen du P.I.B. communautaire, celui-ci augmenterait de 16%.

*d) Le "gap" de consommation et d'investissement*

En admettant l'hypothèse que les régions européennes, actuellement arriérées, adopteraient au fur et à mesure qu'elles se developpaient le modèle de consommation des régions plus avancées, on peut s'attendre à un accroissement de la demande effective, sur le niveau communautaire de 20%, environ, et concernant surtout des produits industriels. Nul pays évolué de nos jours, même le Japon, en raison de sa dimension, ne dispose pas d'aussi vastes possibilités de poursuivre son développement à des rythmes tellement rapides.

*B. Référence à quelques conséquences indirectes générales*

Le niveau de développement de la Communauté, dans son ensemble est inférieur à celui des E.U.; le 60% environ de l'Europe est, de plusieurs points de vue, économiquement arriéré en comparaison avec le niveau moyen communautaire. L'incorporation du 45% de sa population et du 73% de son territoire, appartenant actuellement à des régions arriérées, dans un processus de développement économique rapide aurait pu avoir des "conséquences indirectes spectaculaires":

- par le fonctionnement positif du multiplicateur et de l'accélérateur
- par l'absorption des installations productives, actuellement, en oisivité
- par l'absorption rapide du progrès technique déjà existant
- par la création des secteurs-pilotes et des nouveaux produits
- par l'accroissement du ratio entre des activités traditionnelles et peu compétitives et les activités nouvelles et dynamiques, e.t.c., e.t.c.

En rejettant, à priori, tout argument d'après lequel, les régions européennes, actuellement arriérées ne seraient pas aptes à se développer, je voudrais tout de même souligner le besoin de les mettre en valeur. Ceci, car la crainte de l'inconnu pousse les entrepreneurs à restreindre leurs horizons et à concentrer leurs décisions d'investir dans des régions dans lesquelles leurs prédécesseurs ont déjà investi avec du succès[26]; il s'agit, généralement, des régions économiquement avancées ou même mûres; et ainsi, ils ne prennent pas en considération le fait que la rentabilité marginale de l'investissement est

26. H. A. Stafford, "The Anatomy of the Location Decision: Content Analysis of Case Studies", in Hamilton F.E.I. ed., *Spatial Perspectives on Industrial Organisation and Decision Making*, Chichester, Wiley 1974, p. 182, P. M. Townrow, *Industrial Location Decisions: a study in management behaviour*. Occasional Paper No 15. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham 1971.

supérieure dans les régions arriérées en comparaison avec les régions économiquement mûres. Justement, cette mise en valeur des régions arriérées devrait être la tâche de la Communauté, en préparant l'arrivée de l'an 1992; soit, l'abandon de "l'Europe des patries" en faveur de "l'Europe ma patrie".

## CONCLUSION

La disparition du "gap" entre les régions arriérées et avancées de l'Europe devrait être tentée, en même temps que sa restructuration économique et technologique. Pour cela, le besoin d'appliquer une politique commune est évident. A l'intérieur d'une telle politique, les régions européennes arriérées appartiendront à la Communauté, dans son ensemble, et représenteront ses possiblités encore inexploitées. Sous cet angle, les régions européennes arriérées contiennent des solutions aux problèmes envisagés par l'Europe; car, la disparition du "gap" se présente ainsi comme le sous-produit de la restructuration économique de l'Europe; cette dernière devrait faire preuve d'une très nette préférence en faveur des régions les moins évoluées de la Communauté.

Les sacrifices d'un tel plan commun de restructuration de l'Europe, combinés avec la mise en valeur de ses régions arriérées seront, forcément, très lourds. Ils peuvent exiger, pendant 4 à 5 ans le 15% du P.I.B. communautaire. Une partie de ceux-ci viendra de la réduction progressive des dépenses du F.E.O.G.A.; une autre partie sera ajoutée par la chute du chômage, par la diminution des installations productives oisives, par le rendement des investissements nouveaux et par l'élargissement du marché communautaire. Il s'agit, finalement, des sacrifices exigés pour le passage de l'Europe à un stade d'évolution postérieur à l'actuel.

Il va sans dire, qu'en dépit du fait que l'installation des nouvelles activités de la Communauté se fera de préférence dans ses régions arriérées, les profits seront encaissés par les régions développées, qui vont subir les coûts. Tout de même, petit à petit et grâce aux effets multiplicateurs, les régions arriérées vont acquérir le niveau de développement moyen de la Communauté; quelques unes vont, même, le dépasser. Dès ce moment, mais pas auparavant, l'Europe integrée, sera en état de réaliser son ancien rêve: régner dans le monde, décider de son avenir, imposer sa volonté, assurer la succession du rôle international des E.U.

Il va sans dire que la philosophie, qui imprègue cet article, concerne également, les économies balkaniques, qui elles aussi, dans leur ensemble, représentet des régions insuffisamment développées de l'Europe.

La Grèce donc qui, en même temps que membre de la CEE, appartient aussi dans les Balkans, pourrait envisager l'amélioration de son rôle, dans le nouvel ordre économique international qui s'annonce, en invoquant cette double existence.

# *Book Reviews*

Φώτιος Ἀρ. Δημητρακόπουλος, *Ἀρσένιος Ἐλασσόνος (1550-1626), Βίος καὶ ἔργο. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν λογίων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς* (Arsénios, métropolite d'Elassonos (1550-1626) - Contribution à l'étude des lettrés postbyzantins dans l'Orient), Athènes 1984, éd. Imago, p. 240 + 40pl.

Ce livre, qui constitue la thèse de l'auteur soutenue à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Athènes, présente une des plus remarquables personnalités de la vie littéraire postbyzantine et surtout de la période allant de la deuxième moitié du XVIème siècle jusqu'au premier quart du siècle suivant; il s'agit d'Arsénios, métropolite d'Elassonos, qui avait joué un rôle considérable dans la vie intellectuelle russe de cette même période. Par conséquent, le mérite de ce livre du Dr. Photios Dimitracopoulos est plus qu'évident, puisque il offre l'étude d'un domaine presque inconnu, non seulement pour l'histoire des lettres grecques, mais, aussi, pour l'histoire de la vie littéraire russe et, plus généralement, pour les relations intellectuels gréco-russes. Le livre est divisé en trois grandes parties. Dans la première partie l'auteur donne la biographie d'Arsénios à partir de sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort à Moscou; la deuxième est dédiée à l'activité littéraire d'Arsénios en Russie; la troisième présente ses textes et d'autres textes le concernant.

Le premier chapitre est divisé en trois chapitres. Le premier contient une série de témoignages rapportés par des œuvres antérieures touchant la vie et l'œuvre d'Arsénios (ms. Turin 337, ms. Sumela 85). Dans le second l'auteur suit Arsénios durant la première période de sa vie (1550-1586) à Trikkala en Thessalie et à Constantinople, son ascension au trône métropolitain d'Elassonos, et par la suite, son voyage à Moscou. Dans le troisième (pp. 57-110) Arsénios se trouve à Lvov parmi les membres de la florissante communauté hellénique de cette même ville ukranienne et participe à la mission de Jérémie II et de Hiérothée de Monémvasie, lesquels, en 1589, étaient venus à Moscou pour la fondation du Patriarcat. Ce chapitre conclut ensuite, sur le séjour d'Arsénios à Moscou, où ses activités multiples se déploient jusqu'à sa mort.

Dans son deuxième chapitre Photios Dimitracopoulos s'intéresse aux œuvres d'Arsénios. Il s'agit d'une Grammaire bilingue, qu'il emprunte à la Grammaire de Constantinos Lascaris; cette grammaire n'est qu'un fruit de son activité didactique à l'École Hellénique de la Communauté de Lvov-voir, également, l'étude de ces mêmes problèmes au premier chapitre pp. 119-126. Une deuxième œuvre d'Arsénios est un office religieux rédigé par lui en l'honneur de St. Basil de Moscou, œuvre que Mr. Photios Dimitracopoulos a découverte à la bibliothèque du Monastère de St. Denis de Météora en Thessalie, dont les trésors ont été étudiés par l'auteur; il s'agit du ms. no 51-voir l'étude de cette acolouthie aux pages 127-134, deuxième chapitre. Le troisième chapitre est, également, intéressant car ici l'auteur examine l'œuvre fondamentale d'Arsénios intitulée «Κόποι καὶ διατριβή», dans cette œuvre, une sorte de *vadamecum* ou de mémoires, Arsénios donne une description du voyage de la mission patriarcale, en 1589, de Lvov jusqu'à Moscou et toutes les discussions qui, finale-

ment, avaient abouti à la fondation du Patriarcat russe. La deuxième source qui fournit les données biographiques d'Arsénios sont ses "Mémoires" ('Απομνημονεύματα) qui font l'objet du quatrième chapitre du livre de Mr. Photios Dimitracopoulos (pp. 147-153). Le cinquième chapitre de la deuxième partie est dédié à une série d'œuvres mineures d'Arsénios; il s'agit de deux documents conservés à Lvov; une lettre adressée à Gabriel Seviros, une notice autobiographique et un répertoire des notes autographes accompagnant les diverses donnations d'Arsénios (ikones, manuscrits). La deuxième partie se termine avec la présentation de tout ce qu'Arsénios a offert à l'histoire culturelle de son époque. La troisième partie, comme il est déjà noté, contient les textes d'Arsénios où d'autres textes, qui intéressent et qui sont restés inédits ou partiellement édités.

La thèse de Mr. Photios Dimitracopoulos contient plusieurs contributions concernant l'histoire des idées, les lettrés, l'histoire de l'éducation de l'époque. Par ailleurs ses textes révèlent des renseignements sur d'autres personnages de l'époque avec lesquels Arsénios avait des liens de parenté tels Néophytos, métropolite de Larissa, frère de sa propre mère, tous deux neveux et nièce de Saint Bessarion; ou, encore, Joassaf son autre frère qui avait été évêque de Stagoi, Marcos, évêque de Démétriados et les deux hiéromoines Athanassios et Pahomios.

Par ailleurs de précieux renseignements sur l'histoire de l'éducation à Trikkala, sont rapportés par l'auteur; les maîtres Mathaios et Damaskinos Stouditis enseignent à l'école de la ville nommés par le métropolite de Larissa Jérémie (1568-1572), ce qui prouve que la ville était un centre intellectuel durant la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle. Le document turc (verat de Sultan) concernant la nomination d'Arsénios comme métropolite d'Elassonos est, également, intéressant (février 1584). Ses renseignements sur la Communauté de Lvov enrichissent l'histoire de l'Hellénisme de la Diaspora: son école et les activités commerciales et culturelles de la ville de Lvov sont notoires: Arsénios maître de l'école durant les années 1586-1588 avait rédigé lui-même le programme d'études. Rappellons qu'Arsénios avait aussi rédigé une Grammaire à l'usage des ses écoliers, grammaire qu'il avait empruntée, comme nous l'avons vu, à la Grammaire de Lascaris «Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν». Le fonctionnement des imprimeries helléniques de Lvov sont d'une importance exceptionnelle et constituent l'objet d'une étude à part. Arsénios avait, également, composé un office pour St. Basil de Moscou que Photios Dimitracopoulos a mis à jour et lequel est d'un intérêt considérable. Mr. Photios Dimitracopoulos a analysé et a tenté d'intérpréter ces textes en comparaison avec les autres ouvrages du même genre de la littérature néohellénique, ainsi que les diverses notices, lettres etc. de ce savant clerc, qui a tellement contribué à l'épanouissement des lettres grecques en Russie et à la création d'une vie littéraire dans ce même pays.

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Achille G. Lazarou, *L'Aroumain et ses rapports avec le grec*, IMXA, Thessalonique 1986, 304 + 5pl.

L'objet de la thèse de Mr. Achille Lazarou est l'étude de l'origine de l'aroumain, à savoir de cet idiome latin parlé par les Vlachophones de diverses régions grecques, situées surtout en Épire et en Macédoine. Il s'agit d'un idiome formé durant les siècles d'occupa-

tion romaine en Grèce et parlé par les habitants des contrées septentrionales qui étaient en contact avec les Romains. L'auteur recherche les resources historiques, littéraires et linguistiques de cet idiome, formé par l'usage de la langue latine, et ses rapports avec la langue grecque. Il s'agit bien d'un idiome parlé par ces latinophones d'origine grecque, (connus sous le nom de Valaques ou Koutsovalaques), lesquels, par ailleurs, n'ont pas cessé de parler la langue grecque. L'étude de Mr. Achille Lazarou recouvre la période allant du VIs. ap. J.C., où Ioannis Lydos, auteur byzantin, constate et souligne l'usage de la langue latine par les fonctionnaires de l'état byzantin, jusqu'au XIXe siècle. L'auteur étudie, et commente, les diverses théories sur l'origine des Valaques et cherche le caractère essentiel de cet idiome et ses rapports avec le grec, langue première des habitants de ces contrées. Et c'est l'importance de ces rapports qui intéresse surtout l'auteur dont le but est l'analyse de la structure des deux parlers, l'aroumain et le grec, du point de vue de la phonétique, de la morphologie et du vocabulaire; citons, encore, que ce livre constitue la thèse de doctorat de l'auteur soutenue à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Athènes sous la direction du Prof. Georges Babiniotis. - Dans l'Introduction l'auteur examine le terme ἀρωμοῦνος (aroumain) en citant que cet adjectif dérive du nom aroumain, en latin *romanus* (Romain-Ρωμαῖος en grec) désignant le sujet de l'Etat romain et sa différence du mot *Romios* (Rwkios); selon Mr. Achille Lazarou la différence entre les deux termes, à savoir aroumain et Romios, se trouve dans le fait que le premier désigne le sujet bilingue (qui parle le grec et l'aroumain) et le second le sujet, qui parle uniquement le grec.Ensuite, l'auteur présente brièvement les diverses théories proposées par les chercheurs grecs sur le caractère de l'origine des ces latinophones Valaques, qui ont defendu, avec des témoignages assez convaiquants, leur origine; voir les opinions des Prof. A. Keramopoulos, G. Kolias, Ap. Vacalopoulos, N. Andriotis, Agap. Tsopanakis, qui considèrent que les Valaques sont très vraisembablement d'anciens grecs latinisés. Connaissant l'importance de la question de l'origine des Valaques l'auteur consacre la première partie de son livre intitulée *Esquisse historique de l'origine des aroumains et de leur idiome Roman (aroumain)*; ainsi, il suit la présence des *Romains dans les Balkans, ses rapports avec les Grecs et les Illyriens, l'intervention romaine dans la Péninsule des Balkans,* qui avait comme *suite la conquête des pays helléniques.* Les conquérants installèrent des soldats indigènes qui furent les gardes frontaliers et qui, au début, defendèrent le nouvel empire romain des invasions tracoillyriennes; ces garnisons, dont les membres furent des grecs de Macèdoine, continuèrent à exercer leur métier durant l'époque post-romaine et byzantine. Le contact des grecs avec les vainqueurs latins avait créé le besoin d'une voie de communication, dont les noyaux étaient empruntés à la langue latine, parce que les grecs des ces territoires grecs collaboraient avec les romains dans les domaines administratifs ou économiques, surtout ceux qui longeaient la *Vie Egnatia* comme propriètaires d'auberges, de centres d'échanges, des employés du Service-Postal. Ce contact avec les Romains avait favorisé la propagation du latin et la latinisation de la Péninsule Balkanique et avait comme conséquence la diffusion de langue latine surtout dans l'espace de la Grèce du nord, tandisque la Grèce du Sud avait échapé à cette conquête linguistique; ainsi de nombreux mots latins sont entrés dans la langue du peuple de ces territoires où les Romains installèrent des garnisons; cette invasion linguistique avait comme suite la création de cet idiome latinophone parlé par les grecs aux services des garnisons romaines. Il faudrait rappeler que l'usage de la langue latine par certains grecs de la Grèce du nord était tout à fait inévitable, puisque, comme nous l'avons vu, elle servait leurs intérêts sociaux et professionnels. Mr. Achille Lazarou insiste, également, sur un passage emprunté à Ioannis Lydos (VI. ap. J. C.) citant que de nombreux

grécs, et surtout les employés de l'Etat, parlaient le latin. En effet, le latin était devenu la langue officielle de l'Empire Romain d'Orient jusqu'au régne de l'empereur byzantin Hérakleios, car la langue latine offrait à Byzance "un droit sur l'Occident auquel elle n'a jamais renoncé". Mais elle manquait de racines populaires; le grec n'avait pas été modifié, ni perdu en Macédoine orientale, en Thrace, en Roumélie, ainsi que sur les côtes du Pont-Euxin et les îles d'Archipel. Notons, encore, que Mr. Achille Lazarou cite, à l'occasion de la descente des Slaves, entre autres: "la langue grecque porteuse d'une civilisation très riche, ne pouvait subir d'influence importante venue des parlers slaves, qui ne représentaient pas une civilisation très importante; au contraire, le roumain tenait une place moins grande que la langue slave. Etant donné que l'influence du slave sur l'aroumain est presque telle que sur le grec, à l'inverse du roumain, on peut conclure ainsi: premièrement, les Aroumains ne descendirent pas de la Roumanie vers le Pinde, ni des régions danubiennes, où ils auraient effectivement subi la même influence slave avec les Roumains; en second lieu, les Slaves ne furent jamais très nombreux dans la Péninsule hellénique, parce qu'en ce cas, ils auraient pu exercer une influence très visible sur l'aroumain, dont les représentants vivaient surtout dans la campagne".

Un autre objet de recherche de Mr. Achille Lazarou dans ce même livre est l'étude d'étymologie du terme valaque, la polyônymie des Valaques pour passer, ensuite, à une analyse systématique de l'origine des Aroumains, à savoir des Valaques latinophones du Pinde en examinant les diverses théories sur leur origine; il conclue avec la constatation de Konstantinos Koumas, savant grec de l'Époque des Lumières, qui, en 1832, à savoir avant l'apparition des discussions sur l'origine des Aroumains, écrivit que l'expansion de l'occupation romaine en Europe et en Grèce, en particulier, eut comme résultat "que les Macédoniens, les Thessaliens, les Grecs septentrionaux apprirent la langue de leurs vainqueurs, et que beacoup perdirent la leur. La langue grecque s'opposait seulement dans les grandes villes au latin, et les montagnes de l'Illyrie rejetèrent l'intrus, mais les habitants des villages et des plaines mêlèrent leurs langues indigènes à la langue romaine, créant, ainsi, une sorte de dialecte déformé, conservé encore dans de nombreux endroits de la Macédoine, de l'Épire, de la Thessalie et de la Grèce. Tous ces peuples s'appellent avec le nom commun βλάχοι (Valaques).

Dans la deuxième partie de son livre Mr. Achille Lazarou examine la *scission de l'aroumain du latin oriental et son état actuel;* ici l'auteur s'occupe de l'étendu de l'aroumain et de l'ensemble de ceux qui le parlent ainsi que de sa place dans le cadre des langues romanes et clôt ce chapitre avec sa propre opinion, à savoir que l'environnement dans lequel est né l'aroumain ne lui a pas permis son évolution en langue indépendante, car ces grecs latinisés, sur le plan linguistique seulement, et parlant, également le grec, n'eurent pas besoin de cultiver le latin vulgaire. Par contre, les Daces qui eurent le latin comme seul moyen d'expression ont dû en parfaire l'usage et la forme. Par conséquent, dit Mr. Achille Lazarou, l'aroumain c'est un idiome roman et sa définition comme dialecte dérivé du roumain n'est pas du tout justifiée.

Dans un autre chapitre intitulé *Séparation de l'aroumain du latin oriental* cite une série de facteurs phonologiques qui marquent l'écart de l'aroumain du daco-roumain dès le Ves. déjà, écart qui s'élarcit et finit par se séparer du latin oriental au cours du VIe et VIIe siècles, où des changements de morphologie et de lexique se sont oppérés. Fort intéressant est le troisième chapitre concernant la *littérature aroumaine* (inscriptions, vocabulaires, manuels, dictionnaires). Ici la constatation de l'auteur est que la prose et la poésie aroumaine n'ont

pas un intérêt spécifique et que l'absence de poésie épique, qui pour tous les peuples est la première et plus expressive, marque de vie littéraire aroumaine, nous persuade que la poésie grecque comblait, toujours, les besoins littéraires des Aroumains, unis, d'ailleurs, toujours avec l'histoire nationale et culturelle de leur pays, à savoir la Grèce. Cependant, la littérature populaire aroumaine (chansons, contes, etc.) est l'objet d'une bonne critique. En tous cas, notons que la littérature aroumaine n'a pas une longue tradition et que le plus ancien texte aroumain écrit est l'inscription du moine Nectarios Terpos, gravée sur une icône en bois (1731); suit le vase de Simota (début du XIXe s.), l'inscription en grec litteral, en démotique et en aroumain dans un monastère du Kleinovo, auprès de Trikkala, l'édition Πρωτοπειρία de Th. Kavalliotis (1770), l'édition Εἰσαγωγικὴ Διδασκαλία de Daniel Moschopolitis contenant un lexique en quatre langues, grec vulgaire, valaque de Moésie, bulgare et albanais (1802), l'édition Νέα Παιδαγωγία, et d'autres, parmi lesquels on distingue l'essai de Georges Rozias qui tenta de remplacer dans son livre *Τέχνη τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἀναγνώσεως μὲ λατινικὰ γράμματα* etc., Bude 1809, les éléments grecs de l'aroumain par leurs correspondants roumains d'origine latine, en tombant sur d'énormes disparités.—Dans la troisième partie de son livre Mr. Achille Lazarou fait *l'analyse et la comparaison de l'aroumain avec le grec au point de vue phonétique, morphologique et lexical.* Ici, dans le premier chapitre il examine le récent alphabet latin de l'aroumain, les voyelles, les semi-voyelles, les consonnes, les évolutions parallèles, les changements de nature phonologique et morphologique intervenus dans les éléments grecs de l'aroumain; dans le deuxième chapitre Mr. Achille Lazarou examinant la morphologie passe à une analyse de l'article, des noms, des adverbes, des adjectifs numéraux, du verbe. Le troisième chapitre est consacré à l'étude du vocabulaire de l'aroumain (éléments slaves, éléments albanais, éléments latins, éléments grecs). Pour accentuer les rapports de l'aroumain avec le grec il suffit de citer seulement quelques unes des constatations de Mr. Achille Lazarou, fruits, toujours, de sa recherche minutieuse; l'usage de l'adverbe en aroumain est issu de l'expression adverbiale de l'adjectif, qui n'est point utilisée en latin, mais qui, par contre, vient directement du grec, ou en ce qui concerne les numéraux, l'auteur trouve un rapport avec le grec ancien, "où la formation des numéraux sur ce modèle n'était pas inconnue" (p. 215). Ensuite, en ce qui concerne le rapport entre le verbe grec et aroumain Mr. Achille Lazarou recourt à l'opinion de Th. Capidan, qui accepte l'influence de la langue grecque sur le verbe aroumain. Enfin, l'auteur signale la multitude des éléments grecs, qui fusionnent dans le vocabulaire aroumain, ce qui assure le caractère hellénique des Aroumains. L'auteur distingue quatre catégories, dont les trois premières comportent les dits emprunts indirects, à savoir les termes scientifiques et ceux de la vie intellectuelle (termes scientifiques, termes de la vie religieuse et ecclésiastique orthodoxe, termes de la vie scolaire). L'auteur cite de nombreux mots recouvrant toutes les activités de la vie quotidienne et prouvant, en même temps, que les grecs latinophones ont accueilli cet idiome latin comme seconde langue, préservant une partie du trèsor inestimable de la première langue.

En définitive Mr. Achille Lazarou comble une lacune considérable avec sa recherche qu'il a poussée dans divers domaines (historique, littéraire) et surtout linguistique en accentuant l'importance des rapports de l'aroumain avec le grec.

D'ailleurs il faut avouer que du côté grec ce travail est le premier qui ouvre pour les chercheurs de nouveaux chemins.

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Θωμᾶς Παπαδόπουλος, *Ἑλληνική Βιβλιογραφία (1466ci-1800). Τόμος Πρῶτος, Ἀλφαβητική καὶ Χρονολογική Ἀνακατάταξις*, σσ. νθ′+727, Προλεγόμενα Διον. Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ, Ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ). *τόμος Δεύτερος (Παράρτημα), Προσθῆκαι-Συμπληρώσεις-Διορθώσεις*, [Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, τόμ. 48, 1986, σσ. κβ′+635] Thomas Papadopoulos, Bibliographie Hellénique, 1466ci.-1800, vol. I, Réformation alphabétique et chronologique, vol. 48, série Pragmateiai tis Akadémias Athenon, pp. nh+727, Préface de D. A. Zakythinos, membre de l'Académie d'Athènes), vol. II (Annexe, Additions-Compléments-Corrections), série Pragmateiai tis Akademias Athenon, vol. 48, 1986, κβ′+635.

Le recensement des livres grecs édités pendant la Turcocratie a eu la chance d'avoir ses chercheurs. Le lettré septinsulaire Andréas Papadopoulos-Vrettos enrégistra les éditions grecques parues après la chute de Byzance jusqu'à son temps dans son œuvre *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, Athènes 1854, 1857; son but était la défense de la nation hellénique contre les calomnies de Jacob Ludwig Salomon Bartholdy et de Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer. Peu après le savant français Émile Legrand inaugurait sa *Bibliographie Hellénique* (onze volumes) et sa *Bibliographie Ionienne* (deux volumes), completées après sa mort par Louis Petit et Hubert Pernot. L'œuvre de Legrand s'étendait de 1476 jusqu'en 1790 signalant la riche présence culturelle hellénique qui se répandait en dépit des circonstances défavorables dues au joug ottoman. Il ne serait pas exagéré de parler là d'un vrai miracle dû au désir des Néohellènes de faire renaître les Lumières dans leur pays; tous s'y étaient mis: lettrés, éditeurs, correcteurs et marchands qui finançaient les épreuves et assuraient la diffusion du livre dans les foires. —La voie de Legrand fut suivie par d'autres chercheurs, grecs cette fois-ci, qui firent connaître l'expansion du livre grec à leur époque. En tout cas la recherche sur l'histoire du livre grec n'est pas encore terminée, car il est certain qu'un grand nombre d'éditions n'a pas été enregistré et commenté; notons que ce nombre est dû à plusieurs réeditions qui devaient satisfaire les besoins spirituels de l'Hellénisme de la Métropole et de la Diaspora.

Les éditions successives avait boulversé la série chronologique, fait qui a obligé Legrand à reviser, à plusieurs reprises, à son tour, l'ordre chronologique dans sa bibliographie. Par ailleurs, la nécessité de rassembler dans un volume les décriptions que les chercheurs avaient publiées auparavant dans diverses revues, comme additions à la *Bibliographie Hellénique*, avait emmené les chercheurs à recodifier leurs articles. Cette "codification" comblerait, d'ailleurs, le manque, en Grèce, d'un bulletin *bibliographique national*, fort utile à tous qui s'intéressent aux éditions anciennes et récentes concernant les lettres et les sciences.

L'œuvre à la fois imposante et difficile de collation et de codification des éditions helléniques fut entreprise et réalisée avec conscience et méthode par le Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos, bibliothécaire de la bibliothèque du Parlement Hellénique. Les deux grands volumes édités par l'Académie d'Athènes sont le fruit de ses recherches qui durent depuis plus de vingt ans. —Le premier volume est divisé en trois grandes parties; la première contient les éditions anciennes classées par ordre alphabétique, selon les règles de la bibliothéconomie. La multiplicité des œuvres d'un même auteur, les rééditions, les lieux d'édition avaient retenu l'attention du Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos qui a résolu le problème avec une méthode et une imagination vraiement remarquable. La méthode, peut-on dire, est fructueuse, puisqu'elle nous offre la possibilité de connaître le nombre précis d'éditions d'un livre, sa fortune, mais, aussi, son influence sur le public à l'époque de la Turcocratie. Avant la parution de l'œuvre du Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos, on devait parcourir toute la *Bibliographie* de Legrand pour trouver une édition éventuelle du livre occupant la recherche.

Dans la seconde partie de ce premier volume l'auteur donne le classification chronologique des œuvres publiées; après la date de première édition d'un livre figurent les éditions suivantes, avec des éléments précis. L'auteur a recensé 1294 titres d'éditions inconnues ou peu connues jusqu'ici. L'importance et le nombre de ces additions bibliographiques justifient que le second volume de l'œuvre du Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos soit réservé à leur description analytique. ,

Pour résumer les mérites de ce premier volume on peut dire que son auteur a rédigé là une "codification" impeccable des éditions parues de 1466 à 1800, en relevant un grand nombre encore inconnues et en citant toutes les études concernant les additions à la *Bibliographie Hellénique.*

Le deuxième volume, paru en 1986, renferme les 1294 additions, complèments et corrections, fruit d'une longue recherche du Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos dans les bibliothèques grecques et étrangères. Il faudrait noter, en premier lieu ici, la contribution des bibliothèques du Mont-Athos où l'auteur trouva plusieurs éditions inconnues, et remarquer à nouveau que ces bibliothèques peuvent encore fournir, après recherche systèmatique, de nouvelles éditions inconnues. N'oublions pas que les bibliothécaires athonites aidèrent Legrand dans ses recherches pour la rédaction de sa *Bibliographie Hellénique.* En dehors des bibliothèques de la Sainte-Montagne, le Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos trouva une série de thèses (*dissertationes*) des Grecs du XVIIIème siècle dans les différentes et bien organisées bibliothèques américaines.

Ces 1294 titres décrits dans ce deuxième volume peuvent être partagés chronologiquement comme suit: 580 titres au XVIIIème siècle, 229 au XVIIème s., 475 au XVIème s. et 10 au XVème s. Le nombre des 475 éditions appartenant au XVIème s. est sans doute impressionant, si on tient compte que le XVIème s. était pour les lettres grecques une période considérée comme infertile. Notons, encore, que parmi ces 475 titres du XVIe s., 170 étaient des rééditions des œuvres d'Aristote, fait significatif de l'influence du philosophe sur la pensée hellénique et européenne.

Aujourd'hui grâce à l'infatigable Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos nous disposons de deux volumes qui peuvent être considérés comme un instrument de recherche facilitant énormément notre connaissance sur les divers domaines de la vie spirituelle néohellénique; une œuvre qui, à juste titre, c'est un «ἄθλος μέγας», car il n'est pas facile à un seul chercheur de réaliser une telle recherche, comme celle du Dr. Thomas Papadopoulos.

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Matei Cazacu, *L'histoire du prince Dracula en Europe centrale et orientale (XVe siècle). Présentation, édition critique, traduction et commentaire.* Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes-IVe Section. Série V: Hautes études médiévales et modernes, no 61. Genève, Librairie Droz, 1988. XVI+217 pages.

Cette excellente thèse, soutenue devant l'EPHE (IVe section) à Paris et publiée avec le concours du CNRS, est consacrée à l'étude et à l'édition critique de l'*Histoire du prince Dracula,* récit populaire qui relate les actes et décrit la personnalité de Vlad III Ţepeş (l'Empereur) ou Dracula (le Diable), voivode (prince) de Valachie (1448, 1456-1462 et 1476),

récit qui avait connu de nombreuses versions et éditions et obtenu un grand succès au cours des siècles XVe-XVIIIe.

Dans l'*Introduction* (pp. 1-17), l'auteur se donne pour tâche de nous présenter *Le personnage historique* de Vlad III dans le contexte historique et politique de l'époque: luttes fratricides pour le trône de Valachie, ambitions et visées politiques de Mathias Corvin, roi de Hongrie (1458-1490), guerres de la Chrétienté contre les Turcs de Mehmet II le Conquérant.

La *Première partie* (pp. 19-82), divisée en deux chapitres, a pour objet l'étude des diverses versions du récit populaire relatant l'histoire du prince Dracula. Tout d'abord *La tradition allemande* (chap. I, pp. 21-53) du texte avec ses nombreuses éditions et ses deux versions principales, celle de 1463 et celle de 1488, toutes deux conçues et rédigées à la cour de Mathias Corvin et à des fins politiques; puis (chap. II, pp. 54-81), *La version russe* de ce même texte avec ses vingt-deux copies manuscrites dont les deux plus anciennes (1490, 1501) nous ont conservé le texte dans sa forme originale.

La *Deuxième partie* (pp. 83-211) nous offre une édition critique de ces diverses versions ainsi que de la version rédigée en vers par Michel Beheim (1414-1474), accompagnées, toutes, de leur traduction française. L'auteur réproduit aussi trois textes latins qui sont consacrés au prince Dracula et inspirés du récit populaire allemand, mais qui sont extraits d'ouvrages plus généraux: le texte de Thomas Ebendorfer, extrait de sa *Cronica regum Romanorum*; celui du pape Pie II, extrait de ses *Commentarii rerum memorabilium*; celui enfin d'Antonio Bonfini, extrait de ses *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor cum dimidia*.

Pour établir la liste complète des manuscrits et des éditions de diverses versions, l'auteur a dû entreprendre de longues recherches dans de nombreuses bibliothèques européennes. De même procède-t-il à une étude très serrée du contenu de chaque version afin de faire apparaître clairement le but, le lieu et la date de sa rédaction. Par ailleurs, tous les problèmes posés par la lecture de ces textes (problèmes historiques, philologiques, etc.) sont examinés avec sobriété et concision, mais aussi avec une remarquable érudition ainsi qu'en témoignent les nombreuses et très savantes notes qui accompagnent l'introduction et la première partie de l'ouvrage.

Il nous reste toutefois à exprimer un grand regret: en 1979, l'auteur avait soutenu devant l'Université de Paris I une thèse de 3e cycle portant sur l'étude et l'édition critique des versions roumaines de cette même *Histoire du prince Dracula*. On aurait souhaité que l'essentiel de cette étude avec l'édition critique du texte roumain soient repris dans la présente édition; le lecteur intéressé à l'histoire ou à la littérature de l'époque concernée pourrait ainsi avoir une étude d'ensemble et, surtout, toutes les diverses versions de l'histoire de cet énigmatique personnage que fut le prince Vlad III Tepes.

ASTÉRIOS ARGYRIOU

Dimitris Anoyatis-Pelé, *—Connaissance de la population et des productions de la Morée à travers un manuscrit anonyme de la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Athènes, 1987, pp. 144, ill.

This is a thorough analysis of the demographic and economic data to be found in a very interesting manuscript of eightry handwritten pages, which bears the title "Considérations sur la Morée" and which constitutes the last fifty printed pages of this book. As it can

be seen, the title of the manuscript itself is general and reflects a great variety of information on the social, economic and political conditions prevailing in the Peloponnesus when its author lived there. Fortunately for us all, the full text is given in annex and therefore nothing is lost: anyone can read it and use it for his, or her, own purposes. The fact that the author of this book used a copy of the original for this work does not really matter, the more so since he has seen the original, compared its text with his own and found them similar.

On the first page of the copy, which is reproduced by Mr. Anoyatis, an inscription by another hand claims that it was sent to the Ministry of War, in Paris, on November 1826, by the general Count Guilleminot, then French ambassador in Constantruople. Though the name of Lafitte-Clavé is prominently indicated on that page, P. I. Zepos, who has seen another text, perhaps the above mentioned original, in the Archives of the Quai d'Orsay, was unable to identify its author (*Peloponnesiaka,* 7 (1969-1970), p. 182). Mr. Anoyatis believes that the identity of the author of the "Considérations" remains to be established.

Whoever the real author of this manuscript might have been, this is certain: that he was a highly qualified, well—educated and well—informed person, that he was a keen observer of the conditions prevailing in this important province of the Ottoman state, a mere thirty—five years before the outbreak of the Revolution of 1821, that he was an officer of the French army on a spy mission, that he lived in the Peloponnesus around 1786, for about four years, and that, finally, he prepared this text in anticipation of an eventual French military intervention with the object of occupying the peninsula and annexing it to France. Coming on the eve of the French Revolution, this ambitious project of dismembering unilaterally the Empire of the Sultans sounds a bit unrealistic and eerie.

Mr. Anoyaris has chosen to concentrate his full attention to the first two preliminary sections of the manuscript, dealing maily with demographic and economic data. His critical analysis, illustrated by statistical tables and duly translated into graphics, aims at prosenting the relationship which exists between the population of the Peloponnesus and agricultural production on or about 1786. He does that and concludes his study by saying that about five per cent of the population of about 130.000 worked the land, producing enough for local consumption and for export as well. If that was the case, the land must have given plentifully at the slightest effort.

Although the author of the manuscript is making several references to the relationship which exists naturally between political and social conditions, on one hand, and the material prosperity of the population of the Peloponnesus, in the other, Mr. Anoyatis for his part decided, obviously for methodological convenience, not to involve himself with any other relationship than that which exists between demography and economics. And yet, the last section of the manuscript, which has been ignored, contains very interesting and important information which is there for all to see.

*U. de Sherbrooke* B. G. Spiridonakis

Florin Marinescu, "Étude généalogique sur la famille Mourouzi", *Τετράδια 'Εργασίας* 12 (1987), 171 p., 37 photos & 1 pl.

Dans le dernier numéro de la revue *Τετράδια 'Εργασίας* (no 12, Athènes 1987) éditée par le Centre de Recherches néohelléniques—Fondation nationale de la Recherche scientifi-

que, un ouvrage très intéressant a vu le jour sous le titre d'*Étude généalogique sur la famille Mourouzi*. L'auteur, Florin Marinescu, Docteur des Lettres, collaborateur scientifique du Centre de Recherches néohelléniques, est assez connu par ses travaux antérieurs, tant dans le domaine de la généalogie que dans celui de la publication de documents roumains du mont Athos[1]. Sa dernière étude sur la famille Mourouzi est le résultat d'une longue recherche et vise à combler une profonde lacune dans l'historiographie consacrée aux familles phanariotes: la généalogie des Mourouzi depuis leur apparition au XVIIe siècle jusqu'à leurs derniers descendants qui sont nos contemporains.

L'étude dans sa totalité se divise en trois chapitres. Dans le premier, intitulé "Les origines des Mourouzi et leur entrée dans la vie publique", l'auteur après avoir énuméré toutes les versions de l'origine des Mourouzi, expose sa propre optique, partageant le point de vue selon lequel cette famille est de souche pontique (Asie Mineure). Il examine ensuite, puis réfute, comme étant non fondées, toutes les hypothèses émises par le passé, selon lesquelles elle descendrait de nobles de l'époque byzantine tardive et conclut que "les Mourouzi sont attestés pour la première fois en 1613". Enfin, dans le même chapitre—de même que dans l'introduction (p. 12-22)—, on trouve les premières mentions des membres de la famille Mourouzi qui occupèrent de hauts postes dans l'administration ottomane à la fin du XVIIe siècle.

Au deuxième chapitre, intitulé "Les membres de la famille Mourouzi jusqu'en 1821", l'auteur se réfère, tantôt longuement, tantôt brièvement à quarante membres de la famille qui naquirent et vécurent en grande partie avant la Révolution grecque de 1821. Parmi eux se distinguent deux hospodars de Valachie et de Moldavie, Constantin (?-1788) et Alexandre (?-1816), trois Grands Drogmans, Démétrios (1768-1812), Georges (1771-1796) et Constantin (ante 1787-1821) et deux Drogmans de la flotte, Panayotis (1780-1812) et Nicolas (1789-1821). Comme on le conçoit aisément, c'est à la vie et à l'action de ces personnalités que l'auteur consacre la plus grande partie de ce chapitre. Pour presque tous les autres au contraire, l'auteur se contente, en l'absence de données, de quelques indications biographiques, parfois rudimentaires.

Entre le chapitre II et le chapitre III, Fl. Marinescu insère une unité de quelques pages intitulée "La fuite de la famille Mourouzi de Constantinople" (pp. 93-95). Dans cette unité, comme le montre le titre, l'auteur énumère tous les points de vue soutenus jusqu'à présent sur la fuite de familles des Grands Drogmans Démétrios et Constantin Mourouzi—exécutés respectivement en 1812 et 1821 sur l'ordre du sultan—qui quittèrent précipitamment Constantinople dès qu'eut éclaté la Révolution grecque en février-mars 1821.

Enfin dans le chapitre III, intitulé "Les membres de la famille Mourouzi après 1821",

1. «Ξακουστοὶ Φαναριῶτες. Η περίπτωση τῶν Μουρούζηδων», *Δελτίον Εραλδικής και Γενεαλογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος* 1980, τεύχ. 4· "The Phanariot Prince Alexander Mourouzi (1750-1816), *Communicaciones al XV Congreso International de las ciencias genealogica y heraldica*, Madrid 19-26/IX/1982. Madrid, 1983, tom. II, pp. 25-31· "Présentation des Archives d'une famille phanariote: Les Mourouzi—Première approche", *Communications grecques présentées au Ve Congrès International des études du sud-est européen*, Belgrade 11-12 septembre 1984. Athènes, 1985, pp. 183-189· "Les actes roumains de Simonopetra (Mont Athos). Catalogue sommaire", *Σύμμεικτα* VII (1987) 275-420 (en collaboration avec D. Nastase). «Τα ρουμάνικά έγγραφα του Αγίου Όρους. «Πρόδρομη παρουσίαση», *Τετράδια Εργασίας* XI (1987) 213-222.

l'auteur se réfère à quarantequatre membres de cette famille dont la vie et l'action se déployèrent surtout après 1821 en Grèce, en Roumanie, en Russie, en Europe occidentale et jusqu'en Amérique du Nord. Parmi eux se distinguent Alexandre (1804-1873) qui fut premier ministre des Principautés Roumaines Unies en 1861 (il fut en même temps un facteur important de l'essor économique du pays), Alexandre (1815-1878) qui prit une part active tant dans la révolution roumaine de 1848 que dans les évènements qui aboutirent à l'union de la Moldavie et de la Valachie en 1859 (lui-même fut maire de la ville de Galatz sur le Danube de 1871 à 1873), Elise (1835-1923) l'épouse de l'homme politique grec Thrasybule Zaimis et Démétrios (1847-1916), préfet, député et chef de la police de Bucarest. L'auteur nous donne également des informations intéressantes sur la vie de Constantin (1816 ?-1886) qui mena une existence aventureuse en Roumanie et en Russie, sur Démétrios (1850-1914), homme de lettres qui vécut lui aussi en Roumanie, ainsi que sur les derniers descendants des Mourouzi qui vivent aujourd'hui en France, au Canada et en Suisse. L'étude se termine sur la mention des archives consultées, sur une riche bibliographie grecque et étrangère, un bref résumé de l'ouvrage en grec et un index des noms propres (anthroponymes et toponymes). À la fin de l'ouvrage est annexé un tableau détaillé intitulé "L'arbre généalogique de la famille Mourouzi" où apparaissent les noms de tous les membres de la lignée depuis son géniteur Antioche, qui vécut dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle, jusqu'au dernier descendant Alexandre, né à Paris en 1980. Enfin les photos qui illustrent le texte, précieuses par leur rareté et souvent même inconnues jusqu'à ce jour dans leur grande majorité, sont particulièrement intéressantes.

En étudiant attentivement l'ouvrage de Fl. Marinescu j'ai noté quelques points obscurs et quelques lacunes que je juge opportun de rapporter ici, dans l'espoir que l'auteur les prendra en considération au cas où il ferait rééditer son ouvrage.

Ma première remarque concerne l'affirmation de l'auteur comme quoi "vis-à-vis de la Porte, l'attitude des Mourouzi fut semblable à celle de tous les Phanariotes, simples exécutants des ordres du gouvernement..." (p. 16). À mon avis cette affirmation est excessive; en effet un assez grand nombre de hospodars Phanariotes, loin d'être de "simples exécutants des ordres du sultan", se tournèrent dans bien des cas contre le sultan. Le cas de Constantin Ypsilanti, père du chef de la Révolution grecque Alexandre, qui, étant hospodar de Valachie depuis 1802, prit une part active à la guerre russo-turque de 1806-1812 du côté russe, est un exemple classique. Mais il y eut également le dernier hospodar Phanariote de Moldavie Michel Soutsos qui, allant à l'encontre de ses intérêts personnels, fut initié, comme on sait, à l'Hétairie et prit une part active à l'insurrection de Jassy en février 1821. Quant à Alexandre Mourouzi, hospodar de Moldavie de 1802 à 1806, il perdit son trône, accusé par la France d'être pro-russe (cf. p. 46-47 de l'étude de Fl. Marinescu.)

L'affirmation de Fl. Marinescu selon laquelle "il semble que leurs plans et aspirations (ceux des Mourouzi) concernaient les Principautés Roumaines" (p. 18) paraît également excessive. En effet à la page suivante l'auteur lui-même souligne que les Mourouzi "offrirent de grandes sommes d'argent, soit pour la fondation, soit pour la restauration, soit pour l'encouragement des écoles grecques...ils contribuaient aussi à la préparation de la libération de la Nation (grecque)" (p. 20). L'ensemble de l'œuvre politique et sociale des Mourouzi montre donc que "leurs plans et aspirations" n'avaient pas seulement pour but leur accession aux trônes de Moldavie et de Valachie, mais visaient à secourir par tous les moyens la nation grecque asservie, dans sa lutte pour sa régénération spirituelle et nationale.

Une troisième remarque concerne l'avènement de Constantin Mourouzi qui monta sur

le trône de Moldavie en 1777. L'auteur, s'appuyant sur une source de l'époque de seconde main, un article de la "Gazette des deux Ponts", semble partager le point de vue selon lequel Constantin aurait été mêlé à l'assassinat de son prédecesseur, Grégoire III Ghika (p. 37, note 56). Or l'histoire étant une science qui exige la confrontation des sources, l'auteur aurait dû, à mon sens, se garder de reprendre à son compte une accusation aussi lourde, et qui n'a été confirmée par aucune source, ni à l'époque, ni postérieurement.

Les informations que l'auteur nous communique au sujet de Sultana (1762-1839), fille de Constantin Mourouzi et épouse de Scarlate Stourdza (p. 76), sont insuffisantes. En effet il a ignoré les mémoires de Roxandre Stourdza, épouse du comte d'Edling[2]. Selon celle-ci, sa mère Sultana eut quatre enfants: Roxandre, Hélène, Constantin et Alexandre. Ce dernier d'ailleurs se distingua dans la diplomatie russe et nous laissa des témoignages précieux sur sa famille et son époque dans son ouvrage *Oeuvres posthumes, souvenirs et portraits*, publié à Paris en 1859.

Les indications concernant la fuite des membres de la famille Mourouzi qui quitta Constantinople dès le début de la Révolution de 1821 sont insuffisantes elles aussi. A côté des sources utilisées par l'auteur, on peut trouver une description détaillée des évènements de Constantinople dans les mémoires du témoin oculaire Stamatis Coumbaris[3], frère de Kyriakos, qui aurait sauvé la famille d'Euphrosine Mourouzi (p. 93-94). Selon Stamatis Coumbaris, Constantin Oeconome o ex Oeconomon fut embarqué sur le bateau de Kyriakos qui quitta le port de Constantinople à destination d'Odessa le 8 (20) avril 1821. En ce qui concerne Euphrosine Mourouzi, "ses trois fils et ses trois filles", S. Coumbaris rapporte qu'ils se réfugièrent chez son frère Kyriakos[4] qui de toute vraisemblance leur donna asile, en attendant de trouver un bateau pour Odessa, ce qui est d'ailleurs confirmé par la lettre de remerciements du 17 (29) janvier 1822 adressée par Euphrosine Mourouzi, ses enfants et Constantin Mourouzi à Kyriakos Coumbaris. On y lit notamment ses mots: "...ayant caché auparavant certains d'entre nous dans une maison particulière et ayant embarqué aussitôt les autres sur différents bateaux..."[5]. Tout cela confirme le point de vue de Fl. Marinescu, selon lequel Euphrosine Mourouzi et ses enfants furent emmenés à Odessa par le Septinsulaire Panayis Caliga dans son bateau.

On trouve également des lacunes dans la bibliographie établie par l'auteur au sujet de Georges Kozakis-Tipaldo, époux d'Euphrosine Mourouzi (1811-1869) (p. 107). On peut trouver des informations abondantes sur la vie de ce proche collaborateur d'Alexandre Ypsilanti, qui devint avec l'indépendance de la Grèce un membre en vue de la société athénienne, dans l'ouvrage de P. Tipaldo-Foresti, *Biographie di Giorgio K. Tipaldo*, édité à Venise en 1878.

Outre ces lacunes, je voudrais attirer l'attention sur certains points obscurs que j'ai remarqués dans l'étude de Fl. Marinescu. 1) L'auteur affirme qu'"au début du XVIIIe siècle, la Porte, pour mettre définitivement fin aux velléités d'indépendance des Principautés Roumaines, inaugure le régime dit 'des Phanariotes'" (p. 15). Mais ce que Fl. Marinescu

2. *Mémoires de la Comtesse Edling (née Stourdza)*, Moscou 1888.

3. Publiées par S. G. Sakkelariou dans son œuvre *Φιλική Εταιρεία*, Odessa 1909, pp. 62-83.

4. *Ibidem*, pp. 80-81.

5. Ioannis Philimon, *Δοκίμιον Ιστορικόν περί της Ελληνικής Επαναστάσεως*, Αθήνα 1859, tom. II, p. 302.

aurait dû préciser, c'est quels étaient ceux qui avaient ces "velléités d'indépendance". Il pense probablement aux derniers hospodars "nationaux", Constantin Brîncoveanu (Valachie, 1688-1714), Ştefan Cantacuzino (Valachie, 1714-1716) et Dimitrie Cantemir (Moldavie, 1710-1711). Or il aurait dû, à mon sens, les mentionner, ne serait-ce qu'en note, car de la façon dont il formule son point de vue, le lecteur qui connaît mal l'histoire roumaine n'est pas en mesure de le suivre. Et autre chose encore: pourquoi "définitivement"? Il a été prouvé qu'en histoire il n'y a rien de définitif. 2) Dans la brève notice biographique d'Hélène, fille d'Antioche Mourouzi, qui vécut dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, l'auteur rapporte qu'elle fut l'épouse—en secondes noces—de "Nicolas Bassaraba Brancovan, petit-fils du prince martyr" (p. 36). Par le terme de "prince martyr" l'auteur sous-entend évidemment le hospodar de Valachie Constantin Brîncoveanu décapité en 1714 à Constantinople. Mais il aurait fallu le préciser au moins en note en vue d'une information plus complète du lecteur. 3) Dans la brève biographie de Constantin Mourouzi (1816-1886) (p. 112-115), il n'est dit nulle part qu'après ses études de droit à Munich il s'est installé en Moldavie, ce qui ne ressort que du contexte. L'auteur ne précise pas non plus quelle fut la profession exercée par Constantin Mourouzi lors de son long séjour en Moldavie. Enfin les deux dernières décennies de sa vie qu'il passa en Russie sont laissées en blanc (les dernières indications données par l'auteur concernent l'année 1866, alors que Constantin mourut en 1886).Et 4) dans sa brève notice biographique sur Georges Mourouzi (1876-1939) (p. 115), Fl. Marinescu rapporte qu'il fut un "officier de cavalerie distingué", mais n'indique nulle part dans quel pays il vécut, ni quel drapeau il servit.

J'aimerais enfin attirer l'attention de l'auteur sur quelques petites erreurs qui se sont glissées dans ses notes. Je citerai par exemple l'ouvrage de Iacovakis Rizos-Neroulos *Ιστορία των γραμμάτων παρά τοις νεωτέροις Ἕλλησι*. Cet ouvrage, comme on sait, a été édité pour la première fois à Genève en 1827 sous le titre de *Cours de littérature grecque moderne*. En 1870 il a été publié à Athènes dans sa traduction grecque faite par Olympia I. N. Abbot. Or dans l'ouvrage de Fl. Marinescu les deux éditions se confondent (cf. p. 39, 43 et 150) et il n'est indiqué nulle part que l'édition grecque est une traduction du français.

Certes ces remarques ne diminuent en rien la valeur de l'étude de Fl. Marinescu, d'autant plus qu'un étude généalogique est par sa nature un ouvrage qui demande un temps et un travail énormes. En effet la recherche de renseignements sur les dizaines de membres d'une famille dont la ligne s'étend sur trois cents ans exige la consultation d'un volume colossal d'ouvrages de recherches et de sources d'archives. Il faut donc souligner l'apport précieux de l'étude de Fl. Marinescu qui, outre la bibliographie grecque et internationale, a utilisé au maximum la riche bibliographie roumaine qui nous était jusqu'à présent difficilement accessible ou même totalement inconnue.

Pour terminer, il me faut ici rendre hommage au mérite de Fl. Marinescu dont l'"Étude généalogique sur la famille Mourouzi" comble en grande partie la lacune que présentait jusqu'à ce jour l'historiographie, puisque c'est dans cet ouvrage qu'on trouve pour la première fois la liste détaillée des membres de la famille Mourouzi. D'ailleurs en rapport avec la publication des archives de cette même famille, que prépare le Centre de Recherches néo-helléniques, l'étude de Fl. Marinescu contribuera grandement à nous donner une image complète de la vie privée et publique d'une des plus importantes familles du Phanar.

CONSTANTIN K. HATZOPOULOS

Nikos Zias (ed.), *Photis Kondoglou, retrospective exhibit*, 1986. Macedonian Center of Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki 1986.

In 1986, during the "KA' Dimitria" session, the Macedonian Center of Contemporary Art, in collaboration with the Municipality of Thessaloniki, organized a retrospective exhibit of one hundred and fourteen paintings by Photis Kondoglou. The exhibit, which was housed in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki was accompanied by a splendid catalogue, with reproductions of all artworks exhibited, four short essays concerning the life and artistic production of the painter and a selection of essays which were written by the artist himself.

The four essays contributed to the catalogue of Photis Kontoglou are entitled "Introduction to the Artistic work of Kondoglou" by Nikos Zias, "Memories of Kondoglou", by Iannis Tsarouhis, "Photis Kondoglou" by Kostis Moskof and "Escape toward the Absolute: Photis Kondoglou" by Kostas Vergopoulos. These titles give clear indication of the four different approaches contained in the catalogue. At the same time each essay is clearly explained and vividly illustrated by the reproduced art works.

The author of the first essay is Nikos Zias, a distinguished scholar with strong background in the history of art, particularly in Byzantine art and archaeology. The essay which he contributs to this catalogue consists, in addition to a very short introduction to the exhibit in general, of a brief survey of the artist's life, a presentation of the major events that shaped his artistic evolution and an explicit analysis of the artist's unique stylistic approach to his subject-matter.

"Kondoglou", writes Nikos Zias, "is an artist with rich and original inspiration, a unique ability to understand the essence, the iconography and the style of the past and, finally, to digest and present them anew as if they originated within himself". With these introductory words, Zias begins the last part of his short essay, where an analysis of the artist's style is attempted. First and foremost Nikos Zias discusses two of Kondoglou's stylistic qualities, his "splendid draftsmanship" and his ability of "colouristic harmony". The largest, however, part of Zias' analysis is dedicated to the artist's "Byzantine" style. The author starts by presenting the different media employed by Kontoglou in his work, eg. fresco, tempera and as Zias puts it "more contemporary materials". Then, he discusses Kondoglou's use of empirical perspective, subsequently his use of light and finally his application of colour. According to Zias, Kondoglou developed his own unique "Byzantine" style in the process of his artistic evolution. The intensity of the artist's brushwork as fas as his monumental undertakings were concerned, along with his strained line in his sketches, are two more aspects of Kondoglou's personal «γραφή». In addition to them, Zias sees that plasticity of forms played an important role in the artist's work, that varied according to his subject-matter. His major source of inspiration was the art of the Paleologian and Cretan schools although there are instances, particularly in secular painting and portraiture, where the art of the hellenistic period as well as greek folk art were employed. The last section of Zias' analysis is dedicated to Kondoglou's contribution to the field of iconography. In this section the author discusses the new iconographic themes that the artist imployed in his paintings, stressing the artist's lack of any western iconographic influence, and his appreciation and subsequent influence by hellenistic and folk art.

Nikos Zias' essay in the Kondoglou exhibit catalogue is short but well versed in discussing the most important elements concerning the artist's work. "The exhibit" he says "gives the opportunity to the viewer to search some of the characteristic elements that have been mentioned in the work of Kondoglou, an artist who, during the period between the

two World Wars, opened new roads in greek painting and later, after World War II, determined in a decisive way contemporary religious iconography".

There is no other contemporary Greek artist who has the sharpness of spirit and eloquence of Ioannis Tsarouhis. At the same time, there is no other Greek painter who merits the honour of being Kondoglou's favourite assistant and holds with such great pride this title. Tsarouhis' essay is nothing more than a splendid short narration of personal experiences and reminiscences. Yet, it gives the reader another aspect of Kondoglou, not the artist who needs the formal analysis of an art historian, but the artist-human being, his secret thoughts, his sense of humor and his love for mankind.

When two well-known historians such as Kostis Moskof and Kostas Vergopoulos decide to write their personal views of Photis Kondoglou the exhibit catalogue is enriched with two short but enlightening essays which analyze the artist as well as the literate phenomenon that hears to the name Kondoglou. Kostis Moskof, a specialist in Modern Greek History and Society, in his essay "Photis Kondoglou" describes the artist, not as the great painter he was, but primarily as a thoughtful writer. The author introduces with his writings a very interesting idea concerning the phenomenon Kondoglou. He presents the artist as the epitome of «Ρωμιοσύνη» as the great "Teacher" and finaly as the creator of a unique thematic as well as artistic vocabulary. According to Moskof, Kondoglou's life and artistic production was united in an "Act" that epitomizes the essence of the "Greek man".

In a similar manner Kostas Vergopoulos' essay "Escape toward the absolute: Photis Kondoglou" tries to present another aspect of the artist's literary achievements. Namely, Vergopoulos attempts to understand and present to the reader Kondoglou's ideas concerning "the great silence of God". In order to understand the essence of Christianity the painter wandered with «πάθος» in the areas of the supernatural German expressionism and the writings of the Early Church fathers which finally guided him to the culture of Byzantion and became his ullimate spiritual and philosophical destination.

In addition to the four essays by N. Zias, I. Tsarouhis, K. Moskof and K. Vergopoulos, the Kondoglou exhibition catalogue is enriched with four original essays by the painter-writer. Thesse essays have been chosen very carefully by the editor of the catalogue, Dr. N. Zias. They are entitled "Epilogue [to "Pedro Kazas"] written twenty years afterwards", "The Mystic Sion", "Thessaloniki, its treasures and its monuments" and "Emmanuel Panselinos from Thessaloniki". They all present Kondoglou's philosophical questions about artt in general and Byzantine art in particular. The reader is pleasantly surprised with the last two of the four essays which beautifully present the unique role that Thessaloniki played in the development of Byzantine art and Kondoglou's appreciation and understanding of this artistic fact. For the catalogue of an art exhibit that took place in Thessaloniki the inclusion of these two essays shaws great sensitivity in the part of the editor, Dr. N. Zias.

The catalogue of the Kondoglou exhibit tha ttook place during the "KA' Dimitria" 1986 session provides a valuable contribution to the study of the artist's achievements. the development of Modern Greek art and the decisive role that the art of Byzantium played in 20th centure greek artistic evolution. Apart from the texts contributed by the beforementioned writers and the painter himself, the catalogue includes fine reproductions of all one-hundred and fourteen paintings exhibited, a very comprehensive biographical outline and a selected bibliography. The prospective reader, however should be alert to the printing error in pagination and page lay-out that result from poor copy editing unexpected from this press.

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AMALIA KONSTANTINIDOU-SPILIAKOU

# *Abstracts*

*DAPHNE PAPADATOU*

## POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD: THE ZEALOTS AND SAILORS OF THESSALONICA

The triumph of the Zealot revolution in Thessalonica between 1342 and 1349 was an actual manifestation of the Byzantine people's political expression, which, in theory at least, was incompatible with Byzantium's monocratic régime.

This political manifestation, which occurred at a time when the machinery of state was in a particularly debilitated condition, was achieved through the activity of two types of collective body: 1. public law unions, which served the functional needs of the state machinery (such were the Sailors, who were originally a *military* body); and 2. political parties, which had existed since before 1342 as illegal and secret organisations, and embraced all those opposed to established authority. The Zealots fell into this category, being one section of a larger, pan-Byzantine movement.

*MAGDALENA STOJANOVA*

## THE CEMETERY CHURCH OF ROŽEN MONASTERY

The foundation of Rožen Monastery is dated to the twelfth to thirteenth century on the basis of its architecture and the surviving written sources. Some authors are of the opinion that initially —till the end of the fourteenth century— the monastery was a dependency with a church dedicated to St George and that in 1309 it was presented to Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos. After the conquest of the district by the Ottomans in 1395 it was abandoned. In the first half of the fourteenth century new donors renovated it and consecrated it to the Dormition of the Virgin and later to her Nativity.

The actual cemetery church stands north-west of the monastery walls. It is a two-storey church with a nave, and the entrance is on the north side. Like the other Christian churches surviving in Melnik, it stands on a high

stone plinth. The floor is of brick and the roof of wood and it consists of the narthex and the nave; only the latter is frescoed. The donor's inscription states that the cemetery church was consecrated in 1662, but the building itself was probably completed earlier, in 1597. It seems likely that its construction was a part of a larger programme for the renovation of the monastery because the frescoes on the west and south façades of the catholicon date from 1597 and 1611, as probably does the first pictorial layer in the narthex.

The dedication of Rožen Monastery's cemetery church to St John the Baptist has its explanation in the character of his cult: he is one of the most highly venerated saints in the monastic world owing to the connection between his preaching and eschatological beliefs.

Because of the lack of height, the symbolism of the iconographical programme is developed chiefly on the horizontal plane. On the east sanctuary wall are represented the Mother of God Platytera, the Church Fathers and Liturgists, the Annunciation, Christ in the Tomb, the Vision of Peter of Alexandria, and Jonah Emerging from the Whale's Mouth. The whole surface of the south, west and north walls is divided in two zones. The lower zone is occupied by figures of standing saints and the upper by the cycle of the Baptist. The exclusion of the Christological cycle and of such other important themes as the Holy Communion and the Baptism of Christ is due to the particular purpose of the cemetery church, which —even though an independent building— functioned as a chapel, subordinate to the catholicon. In spite of the considerable shortening, the iconography of the sancruary essentially follows the tradition established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The cycle of the Baptist shows interesting pecularities: the Nativity, for instance, is isolated from the Naming of John; and the scene of the Angel Conducting the Infant John into the Desert is united with that of the Angel Instructing the Baptist. The style of the frescoes of the cemetery church shows them to be most closely related to those on the façade of Rožen's catholicon dating from 1597. Their painter had a very good feeling for psychological nuance and explanatory detail, but to a degree which does not exceed the norms of medieval convention and restraint. His art consequently remains within the tradition, in spite of the spatial and representative experimentation evident in some of the compositions. Their essence is similar to trends in contemporary Western art.

No less interesting is the ideological significance of the wall paintings in the context of the social, ecclesiastical, and political problems of the time. After it fell to the Ottomans, the area around Melnik remained a crossroads for the influences from the material, cultural, and spiritual spheres. At that

time, the most important centres in the Balkans were Mount Athos, Thessaloniki, Constantinople, and later on Romania. A scriptorium operated in Rožen Monastery, where monks from Bachkovo were taught, which gives us reason to suppose that communication existed between the two monasteries for ecclesiastical, political, and cultural purposes, chiefly with regard to the struggle against the alien faith in which the nationality of the monks was not important. It is precisely as a reflection of their hopes of liberation that one should view the great representation of Jacob's Ladder on the façade of Rožen's catholicon, dating from 1611. The same applies to the external decoration of many Wallachian and Moldavian churches from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. So, without straying from the doctrinal and canonical precepts of Orthodox art, the artists of Rožen Monastery's cemetery church preserved the position of monks and the ecclesiastical hierarchy through the tendentious inclusion of specific themes in the architectural and decorative ensemble. The basic idea was to demonstrate the eternity of the Christian religion, the monks' role in its preservation and spread and the moral and spiritual virtues of the Baptist, who, as the first hermit, had shown his followers the way to salvation.

*HENRI TAPAREL*

## SOME NOTES ON BYZANTINE REFUGEES IN BURGUNDY AFTER THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

This paper based on the documents of Lille's state archive in France, concerns the presence of Byzantine refugees in the states of Philip-the Good, Duke of Burgundy, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The few Byzantines who passed through the Duke's of Burgundy lands, attracted by his fame, came in the hope of finding financial assistance on which to subsist or with which to ransom their families captured by the Turks. But rare were the refugees who settled in Valois Burgundy at their own expense or in the Duke's service.

Though the documents studied give little information about the Byzantine families' names, often distorted, and about the situation of the refugees, they do prove that in the exodus after 1453 some Greeks rejected the traditional land of refuge, Italy, for Valois Burgundy, attracted by the fame of Philip the Good.

*MIROSLAV VUKELIĆ*

## A LETTER OF 1760 BY JOSEPOS MOESIODAX

In this letter Moesiodax asks permission and support from the Bishop of Sremski Karlovski to publish his Greek translation of Ludovico Antonio Muratori's *Filosofia Morale*.

*ATHANASSIS E. KARATHANASSIS*

## A CRITICAL REVIEW OF STUDIES CONCERNING RHIGAS PHERRAIOS (1973-1985)

The author presents and gives a critical analysis of the studies about Rhigas published between 1973 and 1985.

*ELENA FRANGAKIS-SYRETT*

## GREEK MERCANTILE ACTIVITIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, 1780-1820

Preceeded by a period of capital growth in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the years 1780 to 1820 were crucial for the economic development of the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean in terms of trade, navigation, privateering, and monetary speculation. Smyrna, which was the most important international port in the eastern Mediterranean during this period, became one of their most important bases, from which they expanded and founded numerous trading organisations throughout the Mediterranean and north-western Europe.

*POLYCHRONIS K. ENEPEKIDES*

## GREEK RESISTANCE TO THE ANTI-GREEK TRAVEL-LITERATURE DURING THE ENLIGHTENMENT PERIOD

(The disappeared pseudonymous publication "A letter concerning the Greeks written in Lemberg and adressed to anybody in Vienna. Vienna 1788")

The above mentioned publication is found only in two German libraries: The Library of the University of Vienna and the Public Library of the same city. The letter is signed by the initials G. V. which are not to be found in any of the various international dictionaries of anonymous and pseudonymous writers. Nor is this very rare German publication mentioned in the multi-volumed "*Generalverzeichnis*" of books in German universally published.

This unknown publication written on the occasion of an anti-greek article published in a German newspaper in 1788, consists a general attack against all those travelling in Greece in the 17th and 18th centuries, who, lacking a correct knowledge and a fair judgement of the situation, belittle the Greeks and overload them with vices they don't have.

This study, which presents this unknown publication to the reader for the first time, deals initially with its content, trying to detect the writer, probably among the Greek scholars in Vienna, where it must have been published and confiscated by censorship, and not in Lemberg, where the writer himself lived, at least as he himself mentions in the text.

*MILENKO KARANOVICH*

## HIGHER EDUCATION IN SERBIA DURING THE CONSTITUTIONALIST REGIME, 1838-1858

After 1830, the year Serbia was granted the status of an autonomous state, special attention was given to education.

To establish institutions of higher education was quite difficult: 1. the state had very limited resources; 2. elementary and secondary schools were in their infancy; 3. there was lack of educated people to teach; and 4. there was lack of educational tradition.

The first school of higher education in Serbia, *Velika škola*, was founded in Belgrade at the end of 1808 and existed until 1813. It was some mixture of a gymnasium and vocational school, but it formed the basis of higher education in Serbia.

Several well-known Serbs, especially Stefan Stefanović-Tenka, Secretary of Education, worked hard to elevate the gymnasium (secondary school) to the level of a lyceum and to bring capable people from Germany and Austria to teach. In October 1838, a Lyceum opened in Kragujevac. In the first academic year 1838-39 it had only sixteen students. Since Prince Milos was not successful in bringing professors from Vojvodina, Petar Radovanovic and

Atanasije Teodorovic, gymnasium teachers in Kragujevac, were appointed the first lyceum professors in Serbia.

The Lyceum in Kragujevac, a copy of the Austro-Hungarian lyceum with some adaptations to Serbia's conditions and needs, was a two-year school. In the first year of its operation, the Lyceum was under direct control of the Ministry of Education. However, in the academic year 1839-40, direct control was entrusted to a professor whose official title was that of a rector.

In 1839, the capital of Serbia was moved from Kragujevac to Belgrade, something that destroyed cultural life in Kragujevac and Belgrade soon became the main cultural center of Serbia. In August 1841, the Lyceum moved to Belgrade. Since Serbia needed more and more educated people, the Lyceum gradually grew. In the second year of attendance the following courses were taught: Roman law, criminal law and court procedure. Since the Lyceum students had poor educational background, particularly in Latin, the teaching of Roman law had to be discontinued after the first semester and the Serbian Civil Code was introduced instead.

With the begining of a second year of studies in the Department of Law, instruction at the Lyceum lasted four years—two years of Philosophy and two years of Law. Since the Department of Philosophy had a general educational character, those students who wanted to study Law had to graduate from the Department of Philosophy.

In 1844, "The Organization of Public School Education" was the first regulation of the Lyceum, a variation of the 1806 curriculum of the Budapest Lyceum.

The Lyceum's regulation of 1844 defined that nine professors were to teach the courses; all of them came from abroad. Later, by introducing additional courses, Serbs who were educated in Western Europe were appointed professors, but because of their liberal ideology they taught for only a short time. Then they were moved to high administrative positions from where they could not influence directly young people.

In December 1851, the History of the Serbian people and literature were introduced and the Serb Aleksa Vukomanović, educated in Russia, was appointed as first professor.

By the end of 1852, Platon A. Simonović. a well-known Russian educator of Serbian origin, was invited in Serbia by the government. In September of the next year, he issued a new regulation, "The organization of the Lyceum of the Serbian Principality" and the Lyceum was reorganized. He defined that the Lyceum have three departments: Department of Law, of Natural Sciences and Technology, and of General Education. In fact, in the Lyceum

only the two first departments were operating.

Gradually, the Serbian government entrusted teaching in the Lyceum to natives so that by the end of the Constitutionalist regime, in 1858, the Lyceum counted ten native professors. All of them, except Aleksa Vukomanović, were educated in West European Universities.

One of the biggest problems of the Lyceum during the Constitutionalist period was its small number of students. Various sources indicate that the main cause for a small attendance should not be sought in Serbia's need for civil servants and its employment policy, but in the poverty of the gymnasium students.

Since the Lyceum students were subjected to oral examinations, their degree of knowledge is unknown, but according to the students it was very poor.

Until the Revolution of 1848, the Lyceum students were politically indifferent, however, influenced by the revolutions in West and Central Europe, they became involved. Their political activities were expressed through their literary society, the Society of Serbian Youth, which was established in June 1847. In 1848 the Lyceum students began to carry out non-literary activities and therefore the government abolished the Society in June 1851. In the 1860's when the conditions for political activity in Serbia became more favorable, former members of the Society of Serbian Youth, experienced champions of liberalism, by now, began to carry out liberal ideas more successfully.

The Lyceum officially founded its library in 1845 with 319 books, one manuscript, 119 letters and documents and one portrait.

As early as 1844, the Lyceum professors were obliged to write the textbooks for their courses, but they lacked originality and a large number of these books were adaptations or translations of well-known Austrian and German texts.

During the twenty years of the Constitutionalist regime great attention was paid to higher education and the results were noticable. The new graduates together with the young men educated abroad began to plant the seeds of modernization in Serbian society.

*BASIL KONDIS*

THE "MACEDONIAN QUESTION" AS A BALKAN PROBLEM IN THE 1940s

The purpose of this paper is to examine and analyse the "Macedonian

Question" in the context of Balkan politics in the 1940s. During this period one may observe two distinct phases. In the first phase, April 1941 - October 1944, there was a struggle for supremacy in Yugoslav Macedonia between the Bulgarian authorities and the Yugoslav and Bulgarian communist parties. The second phase, November 1944 - summer 1948 was dominated by Tito's ambitions for a South-Slav federation, which greatly complicated the international situation in the Balkans and was closely related to the problem of the territorial claims of the Balkan states.

*PHIL. W. ANASTASIADIS*

## THE MODERN GREEK IDIOM OF FARASHA IN CAPPADOCIA AND TURKISH INFLUENCES ON IT

In the history of the Greek language nowadays Farasha is the name given to a region in East Cappadocia on either side of the River Zamandis (Turkish: Zamantdi Irmak). This region contains six villages that were Greek-speaking up to 1922 (Βαρασός, Αφσάρι, Τσουχούρι, Κίσκα, Σατής and Φκόσι or Γαρσαντής), the total population of which was about 4,000. Until 1922, the inhabitants were Greeks, who spoke the modern Greek idiom of Farasha with slight differences among them, primarily phonetic. The Turkish influences upon it were fewer than on the idioms of West Cappadocia.

I have counted 2,146 Turkish words that have intruded into the modern Greek idiom of Farasha. I have gathered them mainly from the oral tradition of the Farasha Greeks who nowadays live in Greece. Of these words, 518 come from Arabic, 213 from Persian, and 48 from European languages. Out of 2,073 of these words (the remaining 73 are primarily adverbs), 720 refer to the body and to people's natural and spiritual needs and activities, 359 refer to the household and family life, 217 to social and political life, 390 to economical and professional life, 142 to the natural world, 59 to religious life; and 106 are indeclinable words.

It is interesting to note that the Farasha idiom has assimilated all the Turkish loan words, nouns, adjectives, verbs, and pronouns, and has adapted them to it's own linguistic morphology. It thus offers one more example of the great assimilative capacity of the Greek language and at the same time Greek resistance to foreign influences and pressures in the heart of Asia Minor.

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*MARIA NEGREPONTI-DELIVANIS*

## A RECONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS OF EUROPE

The European Economic Community is not considering the consequences to be expected for its exports, its production and its employment if it would undertake an energetic effort to develop its underdeveloped areas. The later constitute in this respect a precious reserve and a substantial support in the race with the United States and Japan; a race which the European Economic Community is at present losing.

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